ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY : SCOTTISH EDUCATION AND PRINT-CULTURE

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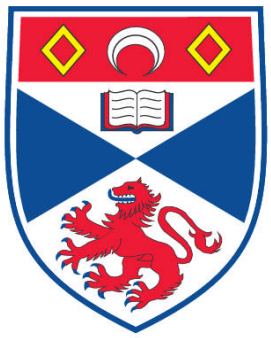

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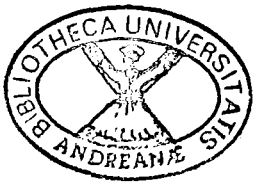
St Andrews University Library in the Eighteenth Century: Scottish education and print-culture

Matthew Simpson

Ph.D thesis: University of St Andrews, June, 1999



The context of this thesis is the growth in size and significance of the St Andrews University Library, made possible by the University's entitlement, under the Copyright Acts between 1709 and 1836, to free copies of new publications. Chapter I shows how the University used its improving Library to present to clients and visitors an image of the University's social and intellectual ideology. Both medium and message in this case told of a migration into the printed book of the University's functions, intellectual, spiritual, and moral, a migration which was going forward likewise in the other Scottish universities and in Scottish culture at large. Chapters II and III chart that migration respectively in religious discourse and in moral education.

This growing importance of the book prompted some Scottish professors to devise agencies other than consumer demand to control what was read in their universities and beyond, and indeed what was printed. Chapter IV reviews those devices, one of which was the subject Rhetoric, now being reformed to bring modern literature into its discipline. Chapter V argues that the new Rhetoric tended in fact to confirm the hegemony of print by turning literary study from a general literary apprenticeship into the specialist reading of canonical printed texts.

That tendency was not without opposition. Chapter VI analyses the challenge from traditional oral culture as it was expressed in the marginalia added to the Library books at St Andrews University by its students, and argues that this dissident culture helped to form the voice of the poet Robert Fergusson while he was one of those students. Chapter VII goes on to show how Fergusson used that voice to warn his countrymen of the threat which print represented to their culture, and to show how it might be resisted in the interests of both literature and conviviality.

I, Matthew Simpson, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 100,000 words in length (not counting Appendix II), has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

date 21st June, 1999

signature of candidate [redacted]

I was admitted as a research student in September, 1995, and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in September, 1996; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 1995 and 1999.

date 21st June, 1999

signature of candidate [redacted]

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of St Andrews, and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

date 21 June 1999

signature of supervisor [redacted]

In submitting this thesis to the University of St Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyrght vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker.

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Preface and acknowledgements

From 1709 until 1836, the Library of St Andrews University was entitled by the Copyright Acts to claim a copy of any or every book printed and registered in Britain. Although the University was not otherwise well-funded, it thus acquired during the period a fine collection of literature. The collection as it survives (increased of course by later purchases) is complemented by a remarkable series of contemporary records of the use and management of the Library. In 1994, the English School in the University decided that this unusual archive of eighteenth-century literary culture ought to be more fully exploited in research, and this thesis is at least a start in that direction.

I do not mean to suggest that the books and manuscripts concerned, or their readers, have been in any sense neglected hitherto. Anyone who uses the research collection in the Library will know what great knowledge and kindness the staff there bring to the treatment of books and people, and I would especially like to thank Norman Reid, Christine Gascoigne, and Cilla Jackson for the generous help which they have given to me. Often, too, I have appealed to the comprehensive St Andrews learning of Robert Smart: if not often enough, that has not been his fault.

Some of the Library's records of student borrowing in the eighteenth century I have transcribed onto computer disk. I use this selected material, and information derived from it, in the main text, and present it as a whole in an appendix, partly as evidence, partly to indicate the possibilities of these records. I am very grateful to Julian Crowe for liberally providing his computing expertise and ingenuity for this part of the project.

Like every researcher in post-Union Scottish culture, I am in debt to Robert Crawford for his illuminating work in that subject; I would like to thank Professor Crawford also for his personal interest and much-valued help in my project.

Finally I wish to thank Christopher MacLachlan for the learned advice and sympathetic encouragement which, in his supervision of my research, he has steadily made available to me over the years.

St Andrews University Library in the Eighteenth Century: Scottish education and print-culture

Contents:

Abbreviations used in the footnotes

Curators' Reports	Reports of the Library Curators from 1738 to 1788 (one volume, which includes lists of purchased books and of books received from Stationers' Hall)
Library Bulletin	*Library Bulletin of the University of St Andrews*, 10 vols, St Andrews, 1901-1925 (including printings of past minutes of the Senatus Academicus, and of other historical documents of the University)
Evidence, vol.III,	*Evidence, oral and documentary, taken and received by the Commissioners appointed by his Majesty George IV, July 23rd 1826; and re-appointed by his Majesty William IV, October 12th, 1830; for visiting the Universities of Scotland*: Vol.III. *University of St Andrews*, London, 1837
L.R.B.	Library Receipt Book (borrowing records of professors and students)

Introduction

By the Copyright Act of 1709, the University of St Andrews became one of nine British institutions enabled to claim a free copy of any printed publication registered for copyright with the Company of Stationers in London.[1] Understandably, these institutions found it best simply to claim one each of everything printed, but, owing to the reluctance of printers and publishers to give away so many books, the Act and its successors did not in practice furnish those institutions with more than a part of their entitlement. In the case of St Andrews, between one tenth and one fifth of what they were owed at any particular time was actually arriving in the Library. Even so, the Act made possible an increase in the Library's stock far beyond what the University's modest funds could have bought. Together with the books purchased with those funds, the supplies from Stationers' Hall had turned the Library into a substantial collection by the time the copyright entitlement was withdrawn from it in 1836.[2] In 1709, there had probably been about 3000 volumes in the Library; by 1836 there were at least 27,000.[3] The University itself seems to have been giving out the figure of 40,000.[4] Already in 1805 one guide-book says that the Library is

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[1] The story of the University's dealings under this and subsequent Copyright Acts has been told by Philip Ardagh in 'St Andrews University Library and the Copyright Acts', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, n.s., vol.III (1948-55), 1957, pp.179-211. Unless otherwise referenced, my information in this paragraph is derived from that article.

[2] By this date there were eleven institutions entitled to claim under the Act: St Andrews University was one of six which were now disempowered. See R. C. Barrington Partridge, *The History of the Legal Deposit of Books throughout the British Empire*, London, 1938, pp.74-77.

[3] Ardagh ('St Andrews University Library', p.185) estimates the number in 1710 to be between 3000 and 3500. An estimate for the year 1695, of 2000, is made by James Maitland Anderson in his chapter on the University Library in *Votiva Tabella*, St Andrews, 1911, pp.93-116 (p.103). This would imply a rather lower figure than Ardagh's at the start of the copyright period. Ardagh (p.210) then calculates the number of accessions during the intervening period as 24,269, but has to miss out a few unrecorded years.

[4] That is the number of books given as if for a fact by Lord Teignmouth (C.J.Shore) in *Sketches of the Coasts and Islands of Scotland and of the Isle of Man*, 2 vols, London, 1836, vol.II, p.140, but already offered as an estimate by W.M.Wade in

"considered one of the best in the kingdom" – this perhaps likewise an idea issuing from a University spokesman.[5] Whatever the true facts, it is certain that during the period of the Copyright Acts, the Library became the University's most impressive asset.

The Senatus recognised it as such, and not only valued it academically but also used it to promote the University. This last was an iconographical rather than a literary enterprise: not the contents of the books, but their quantity, physical character, and setting would address the visitor (indeed, the contents had been partly taken out of the professors' control by the copyright supply, their own purchases being out-numbered by accessions from Stationers' Hall which were in practice selected by chance and trade economics). So it was that in the mid-1770s the interior of the Library impressed Samuel Johnson as "elegant and luminous", while the neglected buildings of St Salvator's College looked to John Wesley like a brothel.[6] It was more, too, than a general impression of well-funded study which the professors aimed at. The Library succinctly expressed the larger ideology of their institution; it was in fact a sort of mission statement. My first chapter interprets that statement, and we therefore approach the subject of the thesis rather in the manner of a visitor (perhaps a parent or a patron) coming into the Library and hoping to learn from it the outlook of the University as a whole.

It is quite logical, perhaps largely inevitable, that a university should make its library in this way its prospectus. However, I will argue that during the eighteenth century, at St Andrews and at the other Scottish universities, the medium was the message with more than ordinary eloquence. These institutions increasingly

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Delineations of the Watering and Sea-bathing Places of Scotland, Paisley, 1822, p.10.

[5] Quotation from George Alexander Cooke, *A Topographical Description of the Middle Division of Scotland*, London, 1805, p.212. A similar phrase is used in at least one other work, James Duncan's *Scotch Itinerary*, Glasgow, 1808, p.68.

[6] Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, ed. J.D.Fleeman, Oxford, 1985 (1774), p.4. John Wesley, *Journals and Diaries*, ed. W. Reginald Ward and Richard P. Heitzenrater, in *Works of John Wesley*, 26 vols, Nashville, 1982-95, vol.XXIII, 1988, p.18 (May 27th, 1776).

promoted the printed book as the essential and characterising resource not only of university studies but more largely of the whole culture of North Britain. In the latter case, there were of course extra-academic ambitions behind the project: notably the motive of assimilation to an English culture already book-centred (I will be discussing Thomas Sheridan's critique of English culture's bookishness in Chapter VII), and the associated movement to reform the Church of Scotland as a liberal and literate institution. But this Church reform was very largely a university project, and it went forward most energetically in the period when the other changes in university structure and curricula which I shall discuss were likewise being most vigorously effected: the period, that is, from the late 1740s to the late 1780s, a period which opened at St Andrews with the Union of the Colleges and closed with the Chancellorship of Henry Dundas and the academic ascendancy of the Hill family. That, accordingly, is the period which I shall be mainly concerned with in this thesis, and the adjustment of the Church to print-culture during that time, managed as a co-operation between like-minded ministers and professors, will be the subject of Chapter II.

Within the universities, what made the printed book more urgently central to education was the change, gradual through the century but producing its results most conspicuously after 1750, from teaching by regents (non-specialist teachers) to teaching by specialist professors. I discuss this momentous reform and its effects in Chapter III. In particular, it tended to deprive students of the sort of holistic tutorial guidance which was much-prized elsewhere in contemporary educational thought. Its effect on university staff was, of course, to channel and professionalise their work in the direction of research – in fact to make the university teacher's ideal sphere of activity the printed book rather than the classroom. As Dr Chalmers, Professor of Moral Philosophy at St Andrews in the early 1820s, said: "I make the Chair the medium of

conveyance to the press."[7] The trend can be followed in the careers of the first three professors in Rhetoric at St Andrews: Henry Rymer, Robert Watson, and William Barron. Rymer occupied the new Chair (of Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics) from its inception in 1747 until 1756: he published nothing. Watson researched Spanish history (his labours are clearly evidenced in the Library's borrowing records), and wrote accounts of the reigns of Philip II (published in 1777) and Philip III (unfinished at his death, but completed by a former pupil and published in 1783). Watson's successor in 1778, William Barron, already had a publishing record to promote his appointment.[8] During his career at St Andrews he, too, researched historical subjects, publishing a history of Anglo-Irish relations (1780), and leaving at his death in 1803 the manuscript of an ambitious history of Roman politics and culture. He was also at that time preparing for publication his *Lectures on Belles Lettres and Logic* (actually published in 1806). This professional sequence is a local illustration of the growing habit of original thought and research which was gaining for Scottish universities an international reputation during this period.

The effect of the change on students was, as I have mentioned, more problematic. Their studies were now less closely controlled. Accordingly, the Library's records of their reading at this period (see Appendix II) suggest that what was changing was rather the range than the quantity of their reading: less of the reading was in prescribed books, more of it individually selected. This seems to have been an accidental consequence of the change in teaching structure, rather than a distinct or deliberate reform; nor was it wholly welcome to university authorities. What young people might be choosing to read, and how they might be influenced by it, was in fact becoming a concern outside as well as inside the

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[7] *Evidence*, vol.III, p.80.

[8] According to an anonymous obituary, his name was put forward by Lord Suffolk on the grounds of "literary merit" (see *Account of the Life and Character of the late William Barron, A.M.F.R.S. Edinburgh, and Professor of Belles Lettres and Logic* [sic] *in the University of St Andrews*, printed broadsheet in St Andrews University Library MS 36260).

universities. In Chapter IV, I review this concern and some of its outcomes. In particular I argue that the development in Scottish universities of the subject Rhetoric, a development which did much to promote print as the defining form of verbal culture, was also an ambitious project of literary management, having for its object the supply as well as the reception of literature.

This academic development of Rhetoric in Scotland has been much explored recently, most notably in the books written and edited by Robert Crawford to which I will be referring in the course of the thesis.[9] The personalities, careers, and ideologies of its pioneers have been rewardingly researched. Of course, these men have not been carelessly cast as heroes: Hugh Blair at Edinburgh has in particular received unfavourable comment, and more generally the Anglicising motive and influence of the reformed subject has been regretted.[10] Still, it is natural for practitioners of an expertise to feel gratitude and respect towards those who made their chosen way of life possible, and moreover to seek out and perhaps to magnify aspects of the early work which seem most previsionary of present practice. For instance, Paul Bator has written valuably about the new subject's hospitality to the novel, yet I would doubt whether Henry Rymer was as modernistically enthusiastic about that genre as Paul Bator suggests: much of Rymer's borrowing of novels is likely to have been on commission for his wife and daughters rather than for himself, and the use of his name as authority for borrowings by students did not imply recommendation.[11] But in my Chapter V, I concentrate particularly upon the implications of the Chair of Eloquence offered by Lord Chandos to St Andrews in 1720 (but rejected), and I argue that the literary ideology implied in that proposal was not of the kind

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[9] *Devolving English Literature*, Oxford, 1992; ed., *Launch-Site for English Studies*, St Andrews, 1997; ed., *The Scottish Invention of English Literature*, Cambridge, 1998.

[10] See Franklin Court, *Institutionalizing English Literature*, Stanford, 1992, p.93, and Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, p.42.

[11] See Paul G. Bator, 'The entrance of the novel into the Scottish universities', in *The Scottish Invention of English Literature*, ed. Crawford, pp.89-102 (p.95). I discuss the authorising of student borrowings in Chapter IV, p.132.

which did subsequently shape the reformed Rhetoric. I disagree, then, with Robert Crawford's interpretation of that affair as an aborted start to academic English Literature, believing that it implied, rather, a future for literary studies much more rooted in classical literature and the classical tradition.[12] In this fifth chapter, I draw attention to the variant futures for literary studies which were then competing with the one which we know was realised. In doing so I hope to identify those values which were at issue when choices were made or rejected on the way to a vernacular, print-centred literary department in universities.

Could Rhetoric really have developed otherwise? More largely, could Scottish culture as a whole have done other than conform to the print-centred culture of England? Since Marshal McLuhan first claimed that print was an innovation of mind as much as it was an innovation of technology, there has been much research into the influence of print, and a corresponding attention to, and appreciation of, the alternative oral discourses which preceded and may in future usurp it. Particularly valuable studies of the mentalities characteristic of oral, literate, and print-conscious societies have been published by Walter Ong, and I have made extensive use of what he says, especially in Chapter VI.[13] There, I juxtapose two strongly-coloured instances of these different mentalities, taken from the history of St Andrews Library in the 1760s: the donations made to it by the literary philanthropist Thomas Hollis, and the student discourse briefly but richly efflorescent at that time in the margins and on the end-papers of the library books. But Chapter VI only summarises, in this contrast of cultures, a strain of antithesis which has already schematised much of what I have written before it, especially in Chapters II, III, and V. In this antithesis appears some measure of answer to the

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[12] See Crawford's 'Introduction' in *Launch-Site for English Studies*, pp.1-22 (p.1).

[13] See especially *Orality and Literacy*, London, 1996 (1982), *Ramus: method and the decay of dialogue*, Cambridge, Mass., 1958, and 'Writing is a Technology that Restructures Thought' in *The Written Word: literacy in transition*, ed. Gerd Baumann, Oxford, 1986, pp.23-50.

questions which opened the present paragraph. The assimilations to print technology and its associated model of discourse were not smoothly evolutionary: as in the particular case of the reformed Rhetoric, so more generally, they went forward in deliberate choices and against recognised alternatives and oppositions.

Of course, it would be absurd to suggest that Scotland might have retained a predominantly print-free culture throughout the age of print. Even in the case of the student marginalia, so vividly characteristic of the colloquial mentality, the mischief and subversion have, we will see, a strong element of ritual; their misrule is in this respect complementary to print, and seems to endorse as much as it mocks print's assumption of authority. How could it be otherwise among the members of an institution devoted to the study of a European literary heritage? But these marginalia were not simply adversarial: they were also positive expressions of the authentic colloquial culture of studenthood. Such a culture is not a necessary product of university life: the present-day student newspaper of St Andrews University, for instance, shows the students reflecting upon their own affairs using a style and mentality very closely imitative of national journalism. Here indeed we encounter a difficulty inherent in the antitheses which I have spoken of: it might reasonably be argued that oral discourses leave no material record or, in so far as they do leave any, must forego their own habits of expression and take on the conventions of script or print. My study of the student marginalia will show, I hope, that this is more a difficulty in logic than it is in practice. Script is surprisingly responsive to convinced and authentic colloquialism of mind. So indeed is print, and the discourse of the St Andrews students in the mid-eighteenth century makes a natural introduction to the printed work, as I will interpret it, of the most accomplished of their number, the poet Robert Fergusson. His poetry, I will argue in Chapter VII, offers both a critique of the hegemony of print, and a practical demonstration that its habits and conventions can be resisted in its

own domain, that the faculties and traditions of colloquial discourse can make room for themselves in print.

I pursue this reading of Fergusson by way of his poetic satire of Samuel Johnson as lexicographer and ambassador to Scotland of English print-culture ('To Dr Samuel Johnson: Food for a new Edition of his Dictionary'). We will already have encountered, in Chapter I, Fergusson's opposition to the politico-cultural implications of Johnson's visit to St Andrews in 1773, and more generally, in other parts of the thesis, Fergusson's championship in his Scots verse of the practices and thought-habits of oral culture. By contrast, there is much in his English poetry which demonstrates the modes of consciousness and style characteristic of print. And in this he shows his St Andrews education. It is not only, then, as a notable alumnus, alert to the issues treated in this thesis, that Fergusson properly provides its summation; his work as a whole shows the full range of mentality and discourse available to the Scotland of his time. It therefore dramatises what St Andrews University and other Scottish institutions gained and lost when they accepted and promoted only those modes of mind amenable to what McLuhan calls the "spirit of movable types".[14]

[14] Quoted by Alvin Kernan in *Printing Technology, Letters, and Samuel Johnson*, Princeton, 1987, p.50.

Chapter I: The University Library: the building and its ideology

St Andrews University possessed its powers under the Copyright Acts from 1709 until 1836. Almost throughout that same period, the town of St Andrews was visibly declining. It seemed to one visitor in 1732 "only a Shadow of What It has been. The Streets show Grass as well as Pavement." To another, in 1784, it "appears as if it had been ravaged by the pestilence. The streets are large and commodious; but the grass grows on them everywhere. All is sad and silent." And still, in 1817, it is reported as "a city falling into decay".[1] In these circumstances, such celebration of the city as there was tended naturally to dwell on its antiquities, to see it more as a memorial than as a modern community. For instance, one of the handful of works chosen by James Morison for printing by the University's own press was George Martine's *Reliquiae Divi Andreae*, a seventeenth-century history of the old religion in St Andrews told through its surviving monuments.[2] John Oliphant's series of pen and ink sketches of the town, which he called 'St Andrews Delineated' and which did include both old and newer architecture, declared that same governing idea on its title-page. There, the lettering is set on an aged scroll, itself pictured, with a few houses, against the panel of a worn and grass-grown table-tomb: emblematically, the whole town is to be found in a grave.[3] The one site in St Andrews which was commonly recommended to visitors for other than antiquarian appeal was the University's Library. The highlights of a characteristic visit would therefore be recorded as follows: "We reached St Andrews [...] @ two o clock. Went to See the Library. This is large & well selected [...] We went

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[1] John Loveday, *Diary of a Tour in 1732*, Edinburgh, 1890, p.136; Barthélemy Faujas de Saint Fond, *A Journey through England and Scotland to the Hebrides in 1784*, ed. Archibald Geikie, 2 vols, Glasgow, 1907, vol.I, p.206; *A New Gazeteer of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1817, p.16.

[2] Printed and published in St Andrews in 1797.

[3] 'St Andrews Delineated, or Sixteen Views of the Ruins and Principal Buildings &c. in & near that City', pen and ink sketches in manuscript dated 1767: St Andrews University Library MS GRA DA890.SI06.

to see the ruins of the Cathedral [...] We also saw the ruins of a large tower."[4]

If this Library was something remarkable in St Andrews, it was also of peculiar importance to the University. Even at the beginning of the period 1709-1836 (hereafter referred to as the copyright period), when the Library had "no very large number of books",[5] it was the single built institution belonging to the University, all the rest being the property and business of the colleges. It is a point made in the 1793 Statistical Account for St Andrews: "These colleges are independent of each other in their revenues and discipline. The Senatus Academicus, or University meeting, consists of the principals and professors of both colleges, which have a common interest in the library."[6] There was indeed some other Senatus business – the election of Rectors and Chancellors, the awarding of degrees, some rarely-used disciplinary duties – but in practice nearly all its deliberations were devoted to the Library. And the Library's unique status in the University was visible within: it was there, for instance, that the portrait of the Chancellor hung, "in the west end of the Public Library, opposite to his Majesty's bust", and it was there that gifts to the University were displayed or stored.[7] And it was there, accordingly, that the University invested its opinion of itself for local and national attention.

This last point will, I hope, be illustrated and confirmed during the course of the present chapter. It means that the Library is to be understood not just as a growing stock of literature for academic use, but also as a swiftly visible statement of the sort of institution which the University wished to be and the sort of training and future which it proposed to provide for its students. In order to

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[4] John Aspinwall, *Travels in Britain, 1794-95*, ed. Aileen Collins, Virginia, 1994, p.100. See also John Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, London, 1723, Letter 6.
[5] Loveday, *Diary of a Tour*, p.142.
[6] *St Andrews in 1793 and 1838: the First and Second Statistical Accounts*, St Andrews, 1989, p.193.
[7] Senatus minute, September 16th, 1791: *Library Bulletin*, vol.II, p.494. The portrait in this case was of Chancellor Kinnoul.

interpret, then, this University statement, I will in this chapter pay attention more to the material than to the intellectual content of the Library, and concentrate upon the imagery which mediated the literature to tourists, to families of prospective students, to guests of the University, and to students themselves.

In particular I wish to consider the meaning of the collection of natural and artificial objects which was formed there contemporaneously with the books.[8] For if the Library was admired for its dignified architecture (particularly after the improvements of 1764-67)[9] and for its growing collection of books, it was noticed also for its non-literary exhibits. The Aberdonian Francis Douglas, for instance, recommended it to tourists as "a very elegant modern building" with "a very numerous collection" (of books, presumably: Douglas was a bookseller), where also "they shew a concretion, taken from the bladder of a mare [...] the picture of a child, spotted all over like a leopard; and a very fine skeleton of one who was long the college carrier".[10] Such heterogeneous objects had been coming into the University's possession since its foundation.[11] However, the Senatus minutes suggest that the rate of accession increased after the mid-eighteenth century, or at least that the acquisition of these things was by then considered more noteworthy. By 1795, the miscellaneous items were being regarded as one collection, and identified by a name which placed them in a dignified social and philosophical tradition: "the curiosities".[12]

Some years later, in 1838, the Senatus minute which records the removal of this collection from the Library's premises speaks of it for the first time as "the University Museum".[13] The new title records an important change of attitude. The occasion of its use was the transfer of the collection into the administration of the town's

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[8] These objects are listed in Appendix I.

[9] See Ronald Gordon Cant, *The University of St Andrews: a Short History* , St Andrews, 1992 (1970), p.115.

[10] *General Description of the East Coast of Scotland*, Paisley, 1782, p.31.

[11] See W.C.McIntosh, *Brief Sketch of the Natural History Museum of the University of St Andrews*, St Andrews, 1913, p.7.

[12] Minute of February 2nd, 1795 (*Library Bulletin*, vol.II, p.504).

[13] Minute of November 5th, 1838 (*Library Bulletin* vol.III, p.527).

Literary and Philosophical Society. This Society, whose membership was drawn mainly from the University, had for its primary object the making of a natural history collection for teaching and research purposes, a collection which was at once and always subsequently called "the Museum".[14] The Society's Museum was first accommodated in St Salvator's College. When the secretary of the Society records the arrival into these new premises (already well provided with suitable exhibits donated for the new project) of the Library's miscellanea, *he* calls them by the old name "curiosities", evidently recognising a legacy from a different and antiquated tradition, as the Senatus had recognised, in their legatee, a different and modern one.[15] It was in the language of this older tradition, which we shall see was as much a social as an intellectual language, that the University had been addressing its audience in the Library.

The Library's curiosities were mostly what would later be called ethnological, and are indeed to be found under that heading in the Society's first catalogue.[16] They included weaponry, clothing, musical instruments, and other artifacts, sent from Indonesia, Africa, and North America. There were also specimens of natural history, again mostly exotic: tusks, snakes in jars, coral, a "sea cocoa-nut", shells.[17] Then there were some unclassifiable "rarities" like the ones which Douglas mentions. The Library also acquired what we might regard as quite another kind of object, and one more natural to libraries: that is, portraits – of royalty, benefactors, and men of letters, in the form of prints, busts, and medals. These

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[14] The history of this collection is the subject of W.C.McIntosh's *Brief Sketch.*

[15] Minutes of the St Andrews Literary and Philosophical Society, 1838-61, St Andrews University Library MS UY8525(1), fol.17r. There is also in the Library a catalogue of the Society's Museum from its inception onwards (see next footnote).These two records, together with the Senatus minutes recording accessions of books and curiosities (subsequently printed in the *Library Bulletins*), and the printed accounts of visitors, supply my knowledge of the Library's collection at different times.

[16] Catalogue of the Museum of the Literary and Philosophical Society, St Andrews University Library MS UY8529/1 (not dated, but evidently started at once), pp.117-126.

[17] The "sea cocoa-nut" is recorded as a "curious present" on November 4th, 1776 (*Library Bulletin*, vol.II, p.413).

portraits indeed remained in the Library after 1838, but until then it is likely that they were not considered as wholly distinct from the other things. So much is suggested by the catalogues and illustrations of contemporary collections elsewhere. For instance, Richard Greene's museum at Lichfield, which Boswell and Johnson visited in 1776, and of which Johnson was at some time a benefactor, had among its various listed exhibits a bust of Shakespeare and a print from the painting by Reynolds of Johnson himself.[18] Johnson specifically admired Greene's collection, so Boswell records, for having "so great a variety", and that was a habitual term of praise for such collections at the time.[19] That all the miscellaneous objects at St Andrews were to some extent making a common cause in the Library is, then, at least circumstantially evidenced.

Before suggesting what that cause might have been, I must mention that the Library's collection was not purposively assembled (as the later Museum was). Among the things visible there, apart from the books, the only deliberate purchases were the globes, maps, and instruments which had a direct educational use. Other objects, as far as the Senatus minutes record them, came as gifts from alumni or other associates and friends of the University. There is no sign that any of these gifts was solicited or even expected. On the other hand, some money had to be spent to preserve and display them. For instance, on July 17th, 1781, a show-case was commissioned to hold the Egyptian mummy which a Mr Galloway had presented, together with "some Eastern curiosities", to the University.[20] The question as to the "common cause", then, is not so much what the collection was made for, since its existence was largely accidental, but rather what significance may have been

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[18] Richard Greene, *A Particular and Descriptive Catalogue of the Curiosities, Natural and Artificial, in the Lichfield Museum*, Lichfield, 1782. The portraits are listed on p.19. There is a list of the museum's benefactors, including Johnson, at the end of the catalogue.

[19] James Boswell, *Life of Johnson* , ed. R.W.Chapman, revised by J.D.Fleeman, Oxford, 1980 (1791), p.709 (March 23rd, 1776).

[20] *Library Bulletin*, vol.II, p.450.

ascribed to it once it was recognised as a distinct possession of the University. In order to answer the question, we need to look beyond St Andrews at traditions of collecting in Britain as a whole, traditions which St Andrews University inherited with its gifts and which gave those gifts their larger meaning.

As I have said, the recognition of these gifts as a homogeneous and significant possession is signalled in the Senatus minutes by the word "curiosities". It was a word commonly used to describe the collections in such institutions as The Royal Society, the Ashmolean Museum, and the British Museum – institutions which might naturally have been models for St Andrews University in this field. The application of the word to objects had followed its original reference to the quality of mind which prized such objects, a reference which survived alongside the derived usage. The older use is found, for instance, in the phrase "studious and curious" in the British Museum's regulations of 1759, defining the persons expected to visit the place.[21] A collection of curiosities was, first of all, the product of the curious mind, essentially a personal effect rather than the creation of an institution or science. That explains John Wesley's line of thinking about the British Museum: that the collecting of its contents was something which someone would have to answer for at Judgement.[22] It could at that time still be regarded as a personal responsibility. The more regularised and classified such collections became, the more likely they were to become dissociated from the word "curiosities" and to fall under another terminology, as the history of the St Andrews collection suggests.

It was indeed this regularising that made the difference, not the fact of public access. It was a familiar part of polite social intercourse that a collector would show his cabinets of curiosities to friends and learned visitors, as for instance the St Andrews alumnus Sir Andrew Balfour expected his collector-friend Patrick Murray,

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[21] Quoted in Kenneth Hudson, *A Social History of Museums*, London, 1975, p.8.
[22] Wesley, *Journals and Diaries*, vol.XXIII, p.190.

Baron Livingstone, to do, or as Samuel Johnson describes his fictitious "curious men" doing as their only social pleasure.[23] But it was also common in the eighteenth century for larger country houses to be open to strangers.[24] Even some town houses seem to have made themselves available in this way.[25] The British Museum itself did not for a long time relinquish this concept of access as a genteel custom rather than an obligation to the public or to learning. The account given by William Hutton of a visit made in 1784 indicates that the time then being made available to visitors was only such as to permit admiration rather than close study.[26] Access was by ticket, it is true, but this had to be applied for in advance, and the arrangement was designed rather to protect the Museum than to make a contract with the public: Horace Walpole used the same arrangement when Strawberry Hill became too popular.[27] The British Museum had not yet made its own catalogue; in these early days (it was founded in 1759) the Museum was, like the Ashmolean and the Royal Society, the inheritor of private collecting rather than itself an institutional collector. So indeed John Wesley had regarded it. Therefore, when Francis Douglas says of St Andrews University Library "Here they shew [...]", he does not thereby identify the place as a public museum, a category of place then scarcely in existence. He suggests a more inclusive category, less absolutely institutional, more genteel and fashionable in its associations.

This larger category existed because much the same objects and

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[23] Andrew Balfour, *Letters to a Friend*, Edinburgh, 1700, p.24; *The Rambler*, no.177, November 26th, 1751, in *Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Allen T. Hazen, London, 1958- , vol.V, 1969, p.170.

[24] See Clive Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior*, London, 1989, p.13. For examples, see Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, ed. Frank W. Bradbrook, London, 1970 (1813), vol.III, ch.1, pp.215-28 (the visit to Pemberley), and Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, p.844 (September 19th, 1777: the visit to Keddlestone).

[25] This is implied, for instance, in *British Curiosities in Art and Nature; giving an account of Rarities both Ancient and Modern*, n.a., London, 1728 (1713), p.67.

[26] *The Life of William Hutton, Stationer, of Birmingham, written by himself*, Birmingham, 1841, cited in Hudson, *A Social History of Museums*, p.8.

[27] Wilmarsh Sheldon Lewis, *Horace Walpole*, London, 1961, pp.129-31. One of Walpole's printed tickets, reproduced on p.130, states that "Mr Walpole is very ready to oblige any curious Persons with the Sight of his House and Collection".

the same terminology, and much the same motives, were involved in all curiosity-collecting in the eighteenth century, from the ambitious national undertaking like the Royal Society's "Repository" to the gentleman's cabinet or the lady's "closet". The point may be illustrated in the career of one particular virtuoso and collector, Martin Folkes.

When Folkes began to take a leading part in the work of the Royal Society (as vice-president from 1722), the Society's collection had not yet become the sort of disinterested scientific corpus which its cataloguer of 1681, Nehemiah Grew, had hoped to nurse it towards: that is, a comprehensive supplement to natural philosophy, or "Inventory of Nature", containing "not only things strange and rare, but the most known and common amongst us".[28] It was, by contrast, described in a guide-book of 1728 as "a Collection of wonderful Curiosities, both in Nature and Art".[29] Among its possessions in the year of that description were an Egyptian mummy and a small wooden cup having one hundred lesser cups nested within. A more purely scholarly ambience was provided for Folkes in William Stukeley's house when he and Stukeley and others met for the "dedication" of the library there in 1751.[30] The books in Stukeley's library were complemented (as the books so often were in both public and private libraries) with a display of "natural and antique curiositys", and the celebration consisted mainly of a viewing of that display. It was evidently an unpretentious but learned scene: Stukeley's guests saw objects ranging from "the British bridle dug up in Silbury hill" to "a busto which I cut of Julius Caesar's head in clunch". But then again, Folkes was one of the donors to a deliberately sensational collection – Richard Steele described it as "ten thousand gimcracks round the

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[28] Quoted in Michael Hunter, 'The Cabinet Institutionalised: the Royal Society's "Repository" and its Background', in *The Origins of Museums: the cabinet of curiosities in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe*, ed. O.Impey and A.MacGregor, Oxford, 1985, pp.159-68 (p.164).

[29] *British Curiosities in Art and Nature*, London, 1728. The account of the Royal Society's collection is on pp.61-64.

[30] As described in Stukeley's diary, August 28th, 1751, extracted in *Publications of the Surtees Society*, vol.LXXX, 1885, p.14.

room and on the ceiling" – which was displayed at the contemporary resort called Don Saltero's Coffee House.[31]

It was not, therefore, unreasonable of the poet Charles Hanbury Williams to introduce Folkes and the Society into his satirical study of the fashionable taste for curiosities, the poem 'Isabella: or the Morning'.[32] This poem was written in 1740, and its setting is the morning society of a duchess (in reality the Duchess of Manchester). The first caller to be welcomed is Richard Bateman:

'I'm sorry, madam, I have made you wait,'
Bateman replied; 'I only stayed to bring
The newest, charming'st, most delightful thing!'
'Oh! tell me what's the curiosity!
Oh! show it me this instant, or I die!'

The fascination of the tea-pot which Bateman then produces gives way before long to admiration of a cuttlefish brought by Charles Stanhope (a member of the Royal Society):

' I'm just come
From seeing a curiosity at home:
'Twas sent to Martin Folkes as being rare,
And he and Desaguliers brought it there:
It's called a Polypus' – 'What's that?' – 'A creature,
The wonderful'st of all the works of nature:
Hither it came from Holland, where 'twas caught
(I should not say it came, for it was brought);
Tomorrow we're to have it at Crane-court.'

The duchess at once envisages one of these creatures as part of her own collection:

'I'd have a cage made up in taste for mine,
And, Dicky – you shall give me a design.'

It is not only a general devotion to the "wonderful" which relates

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[31] At least, Folkes is listed as a donor in the *Catalogue of the Rarities to be seen at Don Saltero's Coffee-House in Chelsea*, London, n.d. (39th ed.). The quotation is from Richard Steele's account of Don Saltero's in *The Tatler*, no.34, June 28th, 1709: ed. George A. Aitken, 4 vols, London, 1898-99, vol.I, p.281.

[32] Charles Hanbury Williams, 'Isabella: or, the Morning', printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol.XXXV, 1765, pp.38-39.

this scene to the more dignified settings of curiosity. There is also the interest specifically in exotica. The duchess has furnished her way of life with a monkey, a parrot, and a lap-dog. She has been buying fireworks at Margus's, the emporium specialising in the products of India ("And, I assure you, they're right *Indian* too"). She can scarcely believe that the tea-pot is English: "Such work as this [...] can England do?" So, in the previous century, Tradescant had made it a sufficient qualification for addition to his influential collection at Lambeth (called 'The Ark', and later to become the core of the Ashmolean) that a thing be "strang [sic]". Peter Munday had felt, visiting The Ark, that in such a place "a Man might in one daye behold [...] more Curiosities than hee should see if he spent all his life in Travell".[33] And however heterogeneous such collections might be, however perfunctory the knowledge supporting them, their various provenances (Stanhope's "Polypus [...] from Holland", Greene's "Indian Scratcher") were keenly noted: Don Saltero's "curious pebble from Scarborough" is probably dutiful to this tradition rather than satirical of it, and of course the provenances of the St Andrews exhibits were likewise diligently recorded when known.[34]

Similarly, the duchess's spirit of rivalry – "If Lady Townsend saw them, she'd be wild" – is a property also found in the literature of more learned collections. Another of Tradescant's stipulations, "the Bigest that Can be Gotten", is characteristic of an ambitiousness in these projects which had as much to do with pride as with science.[35] Even Stukeley shows it, calling his bridle "probably the greatest antiquity now in the world".[36] The puffing of any collection by interested parties or by reporters of tours is perhaps unsurprising, but it is a reminder of that concept of an

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[33] Quotations as used by A.MacGregor, 'The Cabinet of Curiosities in Seventeenth-Century Britain', in *The Origin of Museums*, ed. Impey and MacGregor, pp.147-58 (pp.149-50).

[34] For the Scratcher, see Greene, *Catalogue*, p.23; for the pebble, *Catalogue of the Rarities*, p.94; for examples from St Andrews, see Appendix I, below.

[35] A.MacGregor, 'Cabinet of Curiosities', p.150.

[36] *Publications of the Surtees Society*, p.14.

intellectual property in exhibits which was associated with the term "curiosity" throughout the eighteenth century.

Here then was Martin Folkes represented at both the professional and the aristocratic collecting scenes, and involved also in that humorous debasement of both, Don Saltero's. Just so, the cuttlefish is as welcome in a duchess's closet as in the Society's Repository. If that meant that the cabinet and closet enjoyed at least relations with erudition, it meant too that the more institutional collections had claims to fashion and gentility.

Something more of this reciprocity is suggested in the part which commerce played in the forming of collections. Sir Andrew Balfour, advising Murray on the enrichment of his cabinet, refers him not only to quarries and hillsides but also to shopkeepers. In Dieppe, for instance, "you may see in the shops verie manie curiosities".[37] Particularly worth attention, Balfour says, is a shop called 'Au Roy de la Chine'. That name, superlative as to birth and distance, succinctly evokes the nature of the taste at issue. A similar shop in Paris, famous half a century later, was Esme Gersaint's 'A la Pagode'. Gersaint's trade card of 1740 advertises "toutes Marchandises Curieuses et Étrangères", and it pictures that free assemblage of natural and man-made objects which was characteristic of the pre-scientific museums.[38] Shops like Gersaint's would sometimes also sell a sort of compound curiosity: imitations in precious materials of the kind of natural objects which might be seen in cabinets and repositories.[39] Such merchandise shows clearly the *cachet* which belonged to curiosities, as tokens of status and prestige. The point is nicely illustrated in Robert Boyle's *Occasionall Reflections*, when he speaks (for the purposes of allegory) about coral: "what stupid fishes do not at all regard, those nobler creatures men do so highly prize, that oftentimes it finds

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[37] Balfour, *Letters to a Friend*, p.7.

[38] The card is reproduced in Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets: the marchands merciers of eighteenth-century Paris*, London, 1996, p.81.

[39] See for instance the "pair of mounted shells" in Japanese porcelain, shown in Sargentson, 1996, pp.68-69.

place even among the rarities of princes."[40] This particular "reflection" (number VII of Section 6) is entitled 'Upon the sight of a branch of coral among a great prince's collection of curiosities'. Royalty and coral, then, mutually dignify. Accordingly, Balfour asks Murray to buy some coral for him at Marseilles, and St Andrews University was given "a coral-plant" in 1791, which the Senatus directed to be displayed "under a glass bell" in the Library.[41]

What St Andrews University had was, of course, primarily a library, not a display of curiosities, but as we have noticed in the case of Stukeley the two were commonly regarded as complementary, the cabinets taking up the middle ground of the room or forming an annexe to it. An account by Claude du Molinet of the library belonging to the Abbey of Ste Geneviève in Paris has plates showing such an arrangement there, and du Molinet speaks of the desirability in a library of "a cabinet of rare and curious pieces which would have a bearing on learning and serve the literary arts"[42] (Du Molinet's book was published in 1692, but the library continued to be a fashionable visit for British tourists in the eighteenth century. Horace Walpole, for instance, visited it in 1765).[43] In fact the two categories, book and curiosity, are often treated as one, both figuratively and literally. An early nineteenth-century editor of Robert Boyle's *Occasionall Reflections* tells his readers that "The occasional reflector has his library always with him, and his books lying open before him! The world itself is the former, and the animate and inanimate objects it contains [...] are the latter".[44] More routinely, John Nichols describes Ebenezer

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[40] Quoted from *Works*, 5 vols, London, 1744, vol.II, pp.138-226 (p.223). This was the folio edition published by subscription, which the University ordered in 1742 and acquired on publication (*Library Bulletin*, vol.II, p.59; Curators' Reports, St Andrews University Library MS LY107/4, p.10).

[41] Balfour, *Letters to a Friend*, p.24. Senatus minute for July 26th, 1791 (*Library Bulletin*, vol.II, p.494).

[42] Quoted by W.Schupbach in 'Some Cabinets of Curiosities in European Academic Institutions', in *The Origins of Museums*, ed. Impey and MacGregor, pp.169-78 (p.173).

[43] See the account written by his friend William Cole, in *A Journal of my Journey to Paris in the Year 1765*, London, 1931, p.261.

[44] *The Hon. Robert Boyle's 'Occasionall Reflections'*, ed. John Weyland, London, 1808.

Mussell as "a skilful collector of books and other curiosities".[45]

Moreover, if curiosities enhanced and in some way dramatised the literary values of a library, the books had a corresponding emblematism of their own as the properties and objectifications of notable men. The fashionable portraits by Arthur Devis often gave his sitters a background of books rather than of land or architecture: it is thus, for instance, that Devis presents John Orlebar, Sir Roger Newdigate, and Nicholas Fazackerley.[46] And, as Devis' portraits tend to show, the library and its furniture, as emblems, like Boyle's coral, reached the highest ranks: Henriette Graf shows their use during the eighteenth century in the ceremonies of European royalty.[47] The community of letters was often spoken of at this time as a "republic", but its particular locations did not usually have or desire a republican ambience. St Andrews University Library was in one respect a striking exception: a nineteenth-century visitor who saw on its walls "portraits of Milton, Algernon Sidney, Ludlowe, Andrew Marvell, and other republicans" felt that he had at least part of the explanation for "Dr Johnson's irritability during his stay at St Andrews".[48] No doubt Johnson would indeed have been annoyed if he had seen these particular faces gazing over the literary scene. In fact, however, this libertarian portraiture, donated in the 1760s to St Andrews by Thomas Hollis, had not yet been displayed when Johnson was there: the prints were first hung only when there came a later gift of one hundred pounds from the same source.[49] More characteristic of library iconology in general, and of this particular library too, were the gifts from Sir John Pringle, an alumnus of St Andrews and one of the University's most active supporters: these gifts included a medal showing the Emperor and Empress of Germany, given in March, 1770, and four years later a

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[45] John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, 8 vols, London, 1817-58, vol.IV, 1822, p.432.

[46] See Stephen Sartin, *Polite Society by Arthur Devis*, Preston, 1983 (catalogue to an exhibition), pp.76-77, 107, and 113.

[47] 'South German Writing Furniture in the Boulle Technique', in *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, vol.I, no.1, 1993, pp.49-75.

[48] Shore, *Sketches*, vol.II, p.140.

[49] For more detailed discussion of Thomas Hollis and his gifts, see Chapter VI.

bust of the King, taken from an original made by Nollekens for the Royal Society.[50] By 1791, there were in the Library, in addition, portraits of Lord Cardross, of the Earl of Kinnoul, and of General Melville. The point is that these portraits, and the books which they suited, shared premises with the mare's gall-stone, the carrier's skeleton, "the picture of a child, spotted all over like a leopard", the Egyptian mummy, and so on – sharing not uncomfortably or absurdly, because they also shared the social and cultural context which I have been describing. That context is perhaps best identified in the eighteenth century by the word "politeness" – drawing together, as the word was then increasingly being used to do, especially in Scotland, the two ideologies of gentility and intellectual culture.[51] The Library at St Andrews, I have been suggesting, visibly asserted, before its visitors and users, the politeness of the University. I will complete my discussion of this aspect of the Library's self-presentation by considering first the importance of that claim to the University, and then its triumphant vindication in the visit made by Dr Johnson in 1773.

I have mentioned that the curiosities came to St Andrews unsolicited (as indeed did many of the books, the ones supplied under the Copyright Acts). Their effect was in that sense involuntary. But the University professors were naturally interested in current intellectual and cultural life, as the Senatus minutes show.[52] They were, besides, prompted to participate in it by

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[50] Senatus minutes for March 23rd, 1770, and June 6th, 1774 (*Library Bulletin*, vol. II, pp.367 and 378).

[51] In a recent symposium on the theme 'Politics, Politeness, and Patriotism', L.E.Klein speaks of "politeness" thus: "As a cultural ideal, it insisted on the gentlemanly character of cultural expression: the very vocabulary for *polite* behavior was replicated in discussion of the arts and learning. Thus *politeness* set up reciprocal relations between elite social status and cultural expression." See 'The Political Significance of *Politeness* in early Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Proceedings of the Folger Institute Center for the History of British Political Thought*, vol.V, 1993, pp.73-108 (quotation from p.77).

[52] See, for instance, the setting up in March, 1774, of a committee specifically to keep the Library up to date with such books as became "the subject of general conversation", or the purchasing in September, 1776, of "the best pamphlets which have been published upon both sides of the question in the present contest with America" (*Library Bulletin*, vol.II, pp.378 and 413).

interest in the narrower sense. If (they told Parliament in a document of 1813) their university "could no longer keep pace with the progress of knowledge, all ambition to emulate in science and literature the more favoured seminaries would be extinguished, and the professors, placed in a state of degradation and inferiority, could no longer perform their duty as public teachers with the same ardour and success".[53] It was not simply a question of keeping up with knowledge. Books in fine libraries, as I have shown, were to be understood not only as literature, but also, with the pictures and other displayed objects, as signs of the governing ideology of their possessors. The point had been made in a memorial which Glasgow University had submitted to Parliament in 1812, insisting upon the particular importance to such libraries of "splendid editions": "The possession of those magnificent productions of the British press, in which the refinements of elegant art have been so happily employed to adorn the noblest efforts of taste and genius, could scarcely fail to give a University, in the eyes of students and of the public, that dignity and respectability which are so essential to its real usefulness."[54]

St Andrews University had subscribed to the Glasgow Memorial, although it did also draw up one of its own, as we have seen. In fact there is reason to suppose that it had for some time regarded Glasgow as itself one of the "favoured seminaries" to be emulated. The Library improvements of 1764 (which largely survive) appear to have been modelled on William Adam's designs of 1732 for the Library at Glasgow: Professor Robert Watson was in fact commissioned, while on a visit to Edinburgh in the summer of 1764, to seek an opinion on the plans from an architect called "Mr Adams", but was unable to find him.[55] Similarly, when St Andrews

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[53] *Memorial for the University of St Andrews*, reproduced in *Library Bulletin*, vol.VII, 1918, pp.369-73. The Memorial, prompted by a parliamentary review of the current Copyright Act, is not dated, but the decision to prepare it was made in April, 1813 (see Ardagh, 'St Andrews University Library', p.191).

[54] Printed in *Library Bulletin*, vol.VII, p.302.

[55] See Senatus minutes for August 25th and October 25th, 1764 (*Library Bulletin*, vol.II, p.271); for William Adam's Glasgow Library, see John Gifford, *William Adam, 1689-1748*, Edinburgh, 1989 pp.164-67 (the interior is pictured, showing its

University founded its own press in 1796, the press's first production, which was Professor John Hunter's edition of Sallust, seems to have been modelled in its typography upon Glasgow's Foulis edition of 1751.[56] The title-page colophon is indeed a direct imitation. The Foulis edition has

> GLASGUAE: / IN AEDIBUS ACADEMICIS / excudebant
> Robertus et Andreas Foulis / Academiae Typographi /
> M.DCC.LI

The St Andrews edition has

> ANDREAPOLI: / in aedibus academicis / excudebat
> Jacobus Morison, / academiae typographicus / = /
> M.DCC.XCVI

It is not difficult to see why a university in the circumstances of St Andrews should so deliberately ally itself with contemporary standards of elegance in this way. The town had long since been deprived of its ecclesiastical centrality – had indeed been under some suspicion of episcopalian heterodoxy at certain times in the earlier eighteenth century. It was at two removes from political business: attracting the attention of great men even in Edinburgh was problematic, as we have just noticed in the case of Watson's failed errand. Commerce had moved westward, and the access to France was, since the Reformation, no longer the cultural amenity it had once been.[57] The present chapter opened with some of the visible effects of these changes. The University itself shared the town's distress; it was short of money and, at times, of students. In so far as it tended to become a seminary for Fife youth only, it was

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likeness to St Andrews Library, on p.166).

[56] The press was set up in the former library of the United College and administered by James Morison, the Perth printer, from 1796 until 1800: see R.H.Carnie, *Publishing in Perth before 1807*, Abertay Historical Society Publication no.6, 1960, p.20.

[57] To some extent, however, Holland was replacing France in that respect. Leyden especially was a resort for Scottish students: see Edward Peacock, *Index to English-Speaking Students who have graduated at Leyden University*, London, 1883 (in which the Scottish students are separately identified). It may well be that the exhibiting of the carrier's skeleton in St Andrews Library was prompted by the famous show of iconographical skeletons at Leyden. Edinburgh University Library, too, had skeletons on show (see Loveday, *Diary of a Tour*, p.153).

likely to wither, all the more quickly if it was even then to be treated as a preparatory establishment for Edinburgh University, which many educational careers of the time suggest that it was.[58] But the material aspect of the town and university was not likely to allure the gentry. In his evidence to the Commission on the Scottish Universities in 1827, Professor John Hunter speaks of the "meanness of our buildings" as tending to discourage "those that might otherwise come from a distance". At the same tribunal, Dr Thomas Jackson suggests that the aristocracy would not be drawn to a college (the United College) which was impossible to present without shame "to any stranger, especially to any Englishman".[59] We have a record of one such confrontation in 1781: "On a full sight of this dreary deserted city, Mr Berkeley wept to think that he was to remain, if God spared his life, three long years in it."[60] The University needed the wider recognition which students like Berkeley, grandson of Bishop Berkeley, brought, and indeed it advertised itself in 1794 as suitable for such "young Gentlemen", offering the additional genteel allure of "Classes for the French Language and Drawing by Mons. La Grandier, of the University of Paris, and Grand Vicaire to the Bishop of Lisieux".[61] Evidently it did not and could not expect to attract and keep such students unless it could provide evidences of what its professors called "the respectability of the University".[62]

However, it still was attracting such students in the later eighteenth century, even from England: for instance, Percival Stockdale in the 1750s, Thomas Bowdler in the 1770s, and, as we

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[58] See for instance George Dempster's scheme for his nephew in *Letters of George Dempster to Sir Adam Fergusson, 1756-1813*, ed. James Fergusson, London, 1934, pp.241-45. John Pringle, mentioned above, was one of many St Andreans whose educational career took that form.

[59] *Evidence*, vol.III, 1837, pp.45 and 141.

[60] *Poems by the late George Monck Berkeley* (edited by Mrs Berkeley), London, 1797, p.387.

[61] See 'Early Teachers of French in St Andrews', by "C.T.C", in *The Alumnus Chronicle*, no.29, January, 1948, pp.14-20 (p.21). The announcement as quoted is from the London *Star* of August 19th.

[62] *Memorial for the University of St Andrews*, printed in *Library Bulletin*, vol.VII, p.371.

have noticed, George Monck Berkeley in the 1780s – sons of English gentry or clergymen. James Hall, a St Andrews student of the period, mentions in his later memories of the place this genteel admixture to its population: "Not a few families of distinction came to reside in St Andrews, for the laudable purpose of having their sons educated at the University."[63] Thomas Pennant mentions students from Bath, Bordeaux, and Berne.[64] And during the same period, confirming this social success, Samuel Johnson received that urbane welcome which impressed him and annoyed Robert Fergusson.[65] On this occasion, the Library was evidently presented to Johnson with some *éclat* – "You have not such a one in England".[66] If Johnson was not impressed by that claim, he at least found the interior "elegant and luminous".[67] It seems in fact that he himself did not correspond to the expectations of those preparing to be judged by metropolitan standards: Dr Watson, reports Boswell, "wondered at his total inattention to established manners, as he came from London".[68] But the reception given to him at St Andrews – notably the "very good dinner", so called by Boswell, but deplored by Fergusson as a national self-deprecation – had been devised to face that expected London judgement.[69] It accordingly presented the University as an institution able and determined to "Reconcile the Gentleman with the Scholar", as Andrew Fletcher had once desiderated it.[70] And the nature and

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[63] *Travels in Scotland*, 2 vols, London, 1807, vol.I, p.108. Hall gives some examples on p.126. He is speaking in particular about the period of Kinnoull's chancellorship, 1765-87.

[64] *Tour in Scotland. MDCCLXXII, Part II*, London, 1776, p.199.

[65] See Fergusson's poem 'To the Principal and Professors of the University of St Andrews, on their superb treat to Dr Samuel Johnson', in *Poems of Robert Fergusson*, ed. Matthew P. McDiarmid, 2 vols, London, 1954-56, vol.II, 1956, pp.182-85.

[66] James Boswell, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson*, ed. L.F.Powell, London, 1958 (1785), p.34 (August 19th). The speaker was Principal Murison.

[67] Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, ed. J.D.Fleeman, Oxford, 1985 (1774), p.4.

[68] Boswell, *Journal*, p.38 (August 20th). Johnson's celebrity was then, of course, a much more purely literary one, there being no *Life* to present him as a whole personality.

[69] Boswell, *Journal*, p.34 (August 19th).

[70] Andrew Fletcher, *Proposals for the Reformation of Schools and Universities*,

success of that presentation is exactly recorded in the phrase which Johnson uses for his welcome at St Andrews – "all the elegance of lettered hospitality"[71] – summing, as it does, the aesthetic, intellectual, and social components of that cultural tradition represented in the University's Library as I have described it above. The Library as a room, proudly shown to Dr Johnson by Principal Murison, is best understood, then, as a modern effort after the Fletcherian reconciliation. It was a reconciliation which already comfortably united the gentleman and the scholar in the more celebrated libraries, cabinets, and museums of the time, as we have seen. In pursuing it within the Library, the University was making a bid for recognition in the mainstream of contemporary genteel culture, and thereby a bid for survival and success as a British institution.

British institutions, however, London-centred as they might be, were becoming more international in their outlook. Interests and obligations overseas were proliferating, and I will now consider how St Andrews University, through its Library, publicly related itself also to this new commitment. I have mentioned Robert Fergusson's poetic censure of the welcome which Dr Johnson received at St Andrews. His poem did of course address the motive which I have been discussing, the aspiration to metropolitan standards of politeness, complaining in effect that the professors had been treacherously diffident of their own national culture in their anxiety to propitiate the great man on his own terms. But it also addresses a wider and more controversial issue. The cuisine that was not Scottish was after all not English either: the diners had been regaled

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1704, quoted by Donald J. Withrington in 'Education and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', from *Scotland in the Age of Improvement*, ed. N.T.Phillipson and R.Mitchison, Edinburgh, 1970, pp.169-99 (p.172). Fletcher himself has recently been identified as a one-time student of St Andrews (see Norman Reid, 'Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun: a St Andrews Alumnus!', in *The Alumnus Chronicle*, no. 89, 1998, p.23).

[71] Johnson, *Journey*, p.3.

Wi' eistacks, grown as 'twere in pet
In foreign land, or greenhouse het.

Fergusson interpreted the meal, in fact, as a choice on the wrong side of what is now sometimes called "the luxury debate": the contemporary debate, that is, about the proper scope of commerce, about the moral and social effects of ambitious consumption, and – in Scotland particularly – about the threat which metropolitan taste, and the growing international trade which served it, posed to national identity.[72]

Politeness and luxury are not separate things in Fergusson's poem: he calls both into question at once when he juxtaposes Johnson's dinner and the common fare of the Scottish labourer. And it was, of course, within the realm of politeness that the luxury debate was in fact being decided in luxury's favour. Here, for instance, is an endorsement of it which appeared in a periodical series very popular in St Andrews Library:

> To the industrious Merchantmen we owe every Delight that Peace and Plenty bring:– Our Island, though stored with Necessaries for the Support of Life, boasts of no Delicacy within itself, to render that Life agreeable;– the very Fruits, which now grow in our Orchards, are not originally our own, but have been gradually imported from foreign Climates, and by the Gardener's Art naturaliz'd, as it were, to ours; nor will our Sun and Soil assist his Labour so far as yet to enrich us with those luscious Juices which the Citron, the Pomegranate, the Orange, the Lemon, and many other exotic Fruits afford. How could the nice and distinguishing Appetite supply the Deficiency of Tea, Coffee, Chocolate, Sago, Spices, Oils and Wines? And what an indifferent Appearance would both our Persons and Houses make without those Ornaments of Dress and Furniture, with which we are

[72] "Luxury was the subject of endless controversy" (Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783*, Oxford, 1992, p.4).

> supplied from *China, Persia, Russia, France, Holland,* and *Brussels*?[73]

This periodical, Eliza Haywood's *The Female Spectator,* had implicitly announced itself as purveyor and corrector of polite manners, not only in the heritage implied in its name, but also in the places where it intended to hunt for copy: "Spies are placed not only in all the Places of Resort in and about this great Metropolis, but at Bath, Tunbridge, and the Spaw."[74] It was a characteristic, then, of polite manners to show a "nice and distinguishing Appetite", an appetite for luxury, the sort of appetite which Fergusson zestfully outrages in his poem's alternative dinner.

But more than a merchant navy was needed to service this appetite. Eliza Haywood rounds off the obligations of the polite classes thus: "To the Royal Navy we are indebted for the Preservation of every Thing the World calls dear [...] To them [sic] *Britannia* owes her Empire over the Seas, and, with her awful Trident, commands the Homage of her proudest Neighbours."[75] A connection now appears between that pride in the exotic which we have noticed in the curiosity collections, and the development of an imperial Britain in the eighteenth century. As James Walvin says in his study of the luxury trade and its imperial context, *Fruits of Empire,*

> Britain's global power [...] reached not only to the most distant corners of trade and settlement but revealed itself in the results of that power, in the very heart of British society itself. The material benefits of dominance over distant places and peoples [...] were there for all to see.[76]

It is interesting to compare Eliza Haywood's approval of this situation, and of the sailor's part in it, with that eulogy of sailors which appears in Robert Fergusson's poem 'An Expedition to Fife

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[73] *The Female Spectator,* 4 vols, London, 1745, vol.III, pp.170-72.
[74] *The Female Spectator,* vol.I, p.8.
[75] *The Female Spectator,* vol.III, p.172.
[76] *Fruits of Empire: Exotic Produce and British Taste, 1660-1800,* London, 1997, p.197.

and the Island of May'. For him, it is the sailor imaged exclusively as a serviceman who earns our gratitude, and even then this naval service is conceived of primarily as a defensive rather than expeditionary arm, specifically resisting "innovation".[77]

Fergusson's nationalism opposed both metropolitan manners and their growing imperial connections. His university visibly embraced the first, as we have noticed, and was accordingly and necessarily at least implicated in the second. But I wish to suggest now that in fact the University Library did indeed deliberately and visibly take sides in the luxury debate, and thereby committed the University not only to the free-trade economics which Adam Smith was contemporaneously explaining and promoting (and which Robert Fergusson correspondingly deplored), but also to the new British institution which the practice of international trade was creating, the British empire. If, then, the Library expressed the University's intention to qualify the scholarship it offered with a metropolitan standard of politeness, it also spoke of the University's willing participation in the making and running of this empire. To explain this imperial rhetoric of the Library's interior, I will again look briefly beyond the University, at some visible "benefits of dominance" elsewhere in Britain, before returning to St Andrews to show the deployment of the same language of objects there.

The particular "benefits" which concern us here are those objects which showed off exotic species, substances, or crafts – such, for instance, as are seen on Belinda's toilet stand in Pope's *Rape of the Lock*:

> This casket India's glowing gems unlocks,
> And all Arabia breathes from yonder box.
> The tortoise here and elephant unite,

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[77] *Poems*, vol.II, pp.180, ll.38-52. The word "innovation", incidentally, had a powerfully unfavourable meaning within the Presbyterian Church (see Nigel M. de S. Cameron, ed., *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, Edinburgh, 1993, pp.431-32). It could not have been, for Fergusson, the more or less neutral word it is now.

Transform'd to combs, the speckled and the white.[78]

We approach more closely the particular case of curiosities in Horace Walpole's poem, written in 1772, 'To Lady —, when about Five Years Old, with a Present of Shells'. Here

[...] fond grand-papa [meaning "Father Ocean"] compels
The floods to furnish such a state
Of corals and of cockleshells,
Would turn a little lady's pate.[79]

This poem is not a satire, of course; it notices but also accepts the disproportion which Pope makes glaring in his fourth line above, the disproportion between means and ends which is integral to the experience of luxury. Among the "baubles" enjoyed by the grandson of Ocean in Walpole's poem are "painted quivers, bows and arrows". All these things which Walpole mentions – coral, shells, exotic weaponry – were common constituents of eighteenth-century collections, and were indeed to be seen at St Andrews. And the connections which I am tracing there between the "very good dinner", luxury, and curiosities (putting aside empire for the moment) are often suggested in the language used by other collectors. Stukeley records the celebratory tour of his collection wholly in the image of a fashionable party. I quote from the beginning and the end of his account: "At the little window, which I called the sideboard, began the entertainment with 3 sorts of plumb-pudding stone [...] Lastly, to render it a compleat rout, I produced a pack of cards made in Richard II. time".[80] This is a playful dressing of the occasion; more earnest is the preface to *Musaeum Britannicum*, a book of engravings of objects in the British Museum, where John van Rymsdyk speaks of research in general, and the work of "Drawing and Studying these Curiosities" in particular, as "like a Luxurious Banquet, to me indeed the most

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[78] Alexander Pope, *The Rape of the Lock*, ll.133-36: in *The Rape of the Lock, and other Poems*, ed. Geoffrey Tillotson, London, 1954, p.155.
[79] Horace Walpole, *Works*, 5 vols, London, 1798, vol.IV, p.387.
[80] *Publications of the Surtees Society*, vol.LXXX, 1885, p.14.

voluptuous Entertainment".[81]

In each of the contemporary illustrations just given – from Pope, Walpole, Stukeley, and van Rymsdyk – the objects concerned are noticed at the time and place of consumption, the juncture at which they take on their character as luxuries. In his study of the illustrations to the published records of James Cook's voyages, Nicholas Thomas argues that these engravings pictured their ethnological subjects in context-less isolation in order to lend a scientific character to things otherwise under suspicion exactly as luxuries.[82] But surely just this severance and compelled migration into alien settings (for which Fergusson's poem has the phrase "in pet") is what constituted luxury? It was not things in themselves, but the appropriation and dis-ecologising of them – in short, the getting of them – which gave them significance in fashionable life and in public collections. This was the act of ownership in the material sphere which corresponded to the proprietary motion of curiosity in the intellectual sphere that I have mentioned above.

The point is relevant to the St Andrews collection in the following way. Certainly that collection was never – small and out of the way as it was – "a fashionable lounge" like Sir Ashton Lever's collection in London.[83] But it was nevertheless in some sense an outpost of luxury, visibly participating in the luxury trade, visibly disinclined to "Hame Content".[84] Very few of the curiosities were Scottish in origin, and those few were not in any sense peculiar to or representative of Scotland; still less did they speak of Fife. Objects of that indigenous sort did not enter the collection until it was subject to the more decidedly scientific and antiquarian

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[81] John and Andrew van Rymsdyk, *Musaeum Britannicum, being an exhibition of a great variety of antiquities and natural curiosities, belonging to the British Museum*, London, 1778, p.ii.

[82] Nicholas Thomas, 'Licensed Curiosity: Cook's Pacific Voyages', in *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. John E. Elsner and Roger C. Cardinal, London, 1994, pp.116-36.

[83] Lever's "Holophusikon" was thus described by Charles Peale in his *Discourse introductory to a Course of Lectures on the Science of Nature*, Philadelphia, 1800, pp.20-21.

[84] In the poem of this title, Robert Fergusson expresses his distaste for foreign trade and cosmopolitan culture (*Poems*, vol.II, pp.157-60).

purposes of the Literary and Philosophical Society. By contrast, many of the objects in the Library had come, as I have said, from great distances – from the West Indies, or Canada, or Sierra Leone, for instance – and Sir Charles Stanhope's correction obviously applied: "I should not say it came, for it was brought." The bringing was of course by British trade, or by those voyages which were pioneering or securing British trade. As a writer in *The Weekly Magazine* observed in 1773, "An extensive commerce enables us to pick up curiosities in the four quarters of the world."[85] A Foulah quiver and bow, or a box of shells from India (these formed part of the St Andrews collection), were as much emblems and endorsements of the growing international trade as a tortoiseshell comb, Indian fireworks, or foreign cuisines: more so than Fergusson's hated cuisines, in fact, since British trade was growing most rapidly outside Europe, and it was to these new trading regions that such exhibits referred.[86]

The reference was in many cases a topical one. The "curious criture caled a bittle" arrived in 1773 from Dominica, an island ceded to Britain by France in 1763. The Sandwich Islands, from which "a spear of iron wood" came in 1792, had first been mapped during Cook's voyage of 1776 to 1779. The Foulah and Mandingo weapons were brought from Sierra Leone in 1795, seven years after British traders had established a colony there. The copy of the Koran given to the Library in 1806 had belonged to Tipu Sultan, "the Tiger of Mysore", recently notorious as a collaborator with revolutionary France against British interests in India, and in 1799 a sensational sacrifice to British power at Seringapatam.[87] Meanwhile, the scope of these topical references was made more plain by the maps which the University bought: for instance, the

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[85] *The Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement*, September 9th, 1773: vol.XXI, p.322.

[86] See Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837*, London, 1994 (1992), p.74.

[87] These accessions are recorded in the Senatus minutes for November 19th, 1773 (*Library Bulletin*, vol.II, p.377), January 3rd, 1792 (vol.II, p.496), February 2nd, 1795 (vol.II, p.503), and August 27th, 1806 (vol.III, p.61).

fine maps of the West Indies, which were "battered on canvas and put on rolling pins" in 1780, or the "latest map of Indostan, to be hung up in the Library" in 1792.[88]

These curiosities and maps were charting not simply British trade but also the British empire promoted by that trade and the successes of the British forces which were winning and securing the empire against other European states. It is a point which must have been obvious enough to persons using or visiting the Library in the later eighteenth century. There sat the bust of the King. His name and image were now commonly in use to summarise for Britain its motives and achievements. Particularly he fronted the imperial project, "stern Neptune", as Tait's birthday ode of 1771 put it, having supposedly

> laid his awful trident down,
> Resign'd to GEORGE his watry crown,
> And own'd himself his slave.[89]

Then there was the portrait of General Melville. Melville was the Fife man who had fought in the West Indies, become governor of Guadeloupe in 1763, and invented a highly successful naval gun subsequently manufactured in Carron, Stirlingshire, and used from the 1780s. In pointed contrast to that pictorial reminder of the successful and proliferating "Carronades", there also in the Library were the exotic and antiquated weapons of the native peoples, weapons emblematically laid down and inert. The meaning of these disused arms may have been especially obvious to Scotch observers after 1745, who knew of laid-down arms in their own immediate history. In the penultimate chapter of Walter Scott's *Waverley*, we are shown the Scottish culture whose last efflorescence had been the '45 Rebellion being transformed abruptly into history and aesthetics, "sentiment and virtu", in the portrait of Waverley and MacIvor dressed for battle, Waverley's

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[88] Senatus minutes for June 7th, 1780 (*Library Bulletin*, vol.II, p.448), and April 24th, 1792 (vol.II, p.499).
[89] Printed in *The Weekly Magazine*, June 6th, 1771: vol.XII, p.307.

own weapons hanging alongside on the wall.[90] In the same symbolic language, the stilled weapons in St Andrews University Library preserved their stories (parts of which Professor Hugh Cleghorn was telling in his Civil History lectures during the 1770s and 1780s, and indeed relating to the culture of the Highlands),[91] but showed also that these stories were over, preludes to British trade and British rule.

However, it was not only their recent past which might have prompted Scottish observers to make such an interpretation. It has been frequently noticed that Scots were taking a very active part in the making and maintaining of the empire. Linda Colley calls it their "disproportionate contribution to the Great Game" and shows that the growing empire was much more hospitable to Scots, professionally, than was London, and that it was briskly exploited by them as such.[92] Accordingly, Tait's ode to King George, from which I have already quoted, addressed as it was in general to "British Swains", especially apostrophized Scottish ones:

> And chief, ye youths whom Scotia's flame,
> Impels to highest deeds of fame [...] [93]

The sorts of career and the sorts of country whose encounters were bringing the curiosities to such places as St Andrews were especially pertinent to the Scottish people.

It was no doubt partly the "Great Game" that Hugh Cleghorn had in mind when he told his students, by way of introduction to his lectures, that he intended to "describe in some measure those scenes in which Providence may call you to act".[94] And it was not such a coincidence that when Cleghorn himself left the University and went on government service to India and Ceylon, he soon encountered two young alumni of St Andrews.[95] Some, at least, of

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[90] *Waverley*, ed. Claire Lamont, Oxford, 1981 (1814), Chapter LXXXI, p.338.
[91] For instance, during his discussion of tribal types of authority: see pp.43-59 of his Lectures in St Andrews University Library MS dep.53, box III.
[92] Colley, *Britons*, p.139, and more generally pp.132-40.
[93] See footnote no. 89, above.
[94] Lectures, p.16.
[95] "Nothing can surpass the pleasure of meeting the young men educated there, in so distant a country." See *The Cleghorn Papers, a footnote to History: being the*

the exotica were indeed being sent to the University by such former students now in foreign places. The "curious present of a sea cocoa-nut", for instance, which arrived from Batavia in 1776, was sent by James Gillespie, the son of a St Andrews minister, presumably the same James Gillespie as had matriculated in 1763.[96] His letter explained that he had bought it "along with four others".[97] These sea cocoa-nuts had been so-named because they were commonly picked up on the beaches, having been washed ashore from other islands – furnished by the "floods", in fact, like Walpole's "coral and cockleshells". Gillespie's four had been acquired by him, likewise for presents, by way of trade. In some respects, therefore, although Batavia was not a British possession (it would soon have become one, had Cleghorn's scheme for that purpose been adopted), this sea cocoa-nut is neatly emblematic of the forces and relations which were being evidenced in St Andrews Library.

For the students at St Andrews, of course, the Library where they read or borrowed books was only incidentally iconographical. However, I have mentioned above the complementary arrangement of books and curiosities in eighteenth-century libraries, and quoted from du Molinet on the corresponding intellectual relationship through which the curiosities would "serve the literary arts".[98] Such a relationship of course existed in the St Andrews Library. The Sandwich Islands spear, for instance, or more obviously the antipodean maps in the Library's gallery, were externalities of Cook's written voyages, which the Library had on its shelves.[99] Voyages of this sort were often written up and

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Diary, 1795-1796, of Hugh Cleghorn of Stravithie, ed. William Neil, London, 1927, p.182: Cleghorn's meetings, at Palamcota in 1795, with Captain Campbell and Dr Johnstone are described on pp.181-82.

[96] *The Matriculation Roll of the University of St Andrews, 1747-1897*, ed. James Maitland Anderson, London, 1905, p.14.

[97] See *Library Bulletin* vol.V, 1914, pp.77-78.

[98] See footnote no.42, above.

[99] The Library's Press Catalogue, 1779-96, MS LY105/10, p.46, lists the published voyages (the "first" of 1784, and the "third" of 1785), and mentions "the maps of Cook's Voyages lying in the Gallery". Cook's voyages could also be read in the Library's copy of Hawkesworth's compilation, the three-volume *Voyages* of 1773.

published in the kind of edition which Glasgow University, as we have seen, thought especially useful to a university's prestige – as a part, that is, of the library's iconography. Such volumes would not usually have been lent out to students, but there were also popular editions, and it was in its later, inexpensive editions that one such title – Anson's *Voyage round the World* – became possibly the most often borrowed of all the titles in the Library at St Andrews in the later eighteenth century.[100] I wish now to suggest how the reading of this particular book belonged to the Library's culture as I have been describing it, and how, therefore, the student reader participated in that culture.

Accounts of voyages and travels, and the fictions and half-fictions which imitated them, were among the most successful publishing ventures of the eighteenth century, especially where British interests were implied.[101] Anson's *Voyage* was in turn one of the most popular of these accounts: first published in 1748, it appeared in seven further editions during the next eight years. No doubt this book and its like were commonly read simply as romance. Lord Shaftesbury scornfully compares them to the old books of chivalry; William Cowper more sympathetically portrays the reader's keen identification with his voyaging hero ("He travels, and I too").[102] But in 'The Castaway', the poem which Cowper later made specifically from his reading of Anson, he characterises the *Voyage* as a national epic, the hero carrying not just the day-dreaming reader with him, but the whole nation:

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[100] George Anson, *A Voyage round the World, in the years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV* (first edition: London, 1748). The Alphabetical Catalogue, 1796, of St Andrews University Library (MS LY105/13) lists four copies of Anson's *Voyage* (p.9). The *Voyage* emerges as the single most often-borrowed book over the five sample periods between 1748 and 1782 whose borrowing records I have computed (see Appendix II).

[101] For the popularity of these works, see Paul Kaufman, 'The Rise of Community Libraries in Scotland', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol.LIX, 1965, pp.233-94.

[102] Shaftesbury in *Advice to an Author*, quoted in Philip Edwards, *The Story of the Voyage: sea-narratives in eighteenth-century England*, Cambridge, 1994, p.3; William Cowper in *The Task*, Book IV, ll.114-19, in *Poems of William Cowper*, ed. John D. Baird and Charles Ryskamp, 3 vols, Oxford, 1980-95, vol.II, 1995, p.190.

No braver chief could Albion boast
Than he with whom he went;
Nor ever ship left Albion's coast
With warmer wishes sent.

Britishness in the drowning sailor's story becomes the equivalent ("Its semblance in another's case") of the divine grace which the poet believes that he himself must forfeit:

He loved them both, but both in vain;
Nor him beheld, nor her again.[103]

Cowper was making this powerful emblem out of Anson many years after the voyage itself, but it had evidently been seen in that light from the first. The mere preliminaries for it had been celebrated in Mark Akenside's poem 'A British Philippic: Occasioned by the Insults of the *Spaniards*, and the Preparations for War'. This poem, with its insistent repetitions of "British" and "Britannia", had been written in 1738, but was considered sufficiently "serious, moral, or divine" to justify reprinting in a Scottish miscellany of 1765.[104]

There were good reasons why Anson's *Voyage* should have been read as a peculiarly British story. It was purely a combative venture, without trading purpose or colouring of disinterested science: its ships were sent out in 1740 at the beginning of the war with Spain ("the War of Jenkins' Ear") to attack Spain's colonial settlements and to appropriate their produce, particularly the gold from Acapulco. The success of the venture was conspicuously celebrated in 1744 with a parade through the City of London – the Spanish silver and gold, including twenty barrels of gold dust, being drawn along in thirty-two vehicles. Subsequently, Anson himself was responsible for reforms which made a more disciplined and coherent national force out of the navy: symptomatic of this institutionalising of it was the introduction of a uniform, a feature which the younger Anson had famously improvised for a show of

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[103] *Poems of William Cowper*, vol.III, 1995, pp.214-16.
[104] John Bonar and Charles Stuart, eds, *Miscellaneous Pieces of Poetry*, Edinburgh, 1765. The poem appears on pp. 127-33; the quoted phrase is from p.vi.

strength at Macao, as related in Chapter VII of the *Voyage*. War, public triumph, national insignia, all tended to establish Anson's position in the national mind as a British hero.

In a national literary culture that was still fundamentally classical, there was another prompting to read the *Voyage* as a national epic: the likeness between that story and Homer's *Odyssey*. Odysseus was of course (as he still is) the literary type of any traveller. It is, for instance, with lines from Homer's epic (in a translation by Horace) that Andrew Balfour's editor introduces the *Letters*, even though the journeying there was confined to England, France, and Italy.[105] Anson's voyage, as Walter reports it, was rather more obviously Homeric. The British and the Greek hero both lead a violently dwindling band through storms, conflicts, and privation. Both bring back treasure. Both are enabled by concealment to come home under the noses of their enemies (for Anson it is the fog which hides his return from the French fleet waiting in the Channel). Other, more detailed, likenesses are curious rather than compelling, but the thematic parallel is assertive enough. The story of Odysseus (sometimes simply called "Ithacus" in Pope's version, the version probably most familiar to students in the Scottish universities) prepared the classically educated reader to interpret Anson's *Voyage* as a national heroic epic.

Yet even in Walter's partial narrative, Commodore Anson does not have the solitary and absolute eminence which Homer's Odysseus enjoys. The book tells little about him separately from his force as a whole. Therefore the epic medium in this case feels less historical than geographical: not the doing and enduring of extraordinary things (for all the survivors have done and endured them), but the doing and enduring of them in extraordinary places. Such a reading was indeed promoted by the sort of non-literary properties which I have been locating in St Andrews Library. That

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[105] The lines are taken from Horace's 'Epistle to Lollius': "Qui Domitor Trojae multorum providus Urbes, / Et Mores Hominum inspexit."

this geographical endeavour was to some extent the new expression of epic imagination is suggested by its appearance, satirically trivialised, in 'Isabella: or, the Morning' and in *The Rape of the Lock* alongside Pope's mock-epic of action. Such a variation of epic was indeed more fitted than the plain heroic to bear contemporary nationalist aspiration, being more co-operative than individualistic, and being proof, too, against the destructive action of party-interest and satire which made eighteenth-century reputations vulnerable in life and in literature (Anson himself proved vulnerable in this way).[106] If there was this new epic dimension, it was well adapted to celebrate the making of an empire, and to appeal as such to ambitious Scots.

Anson's story, then, besides being the most popular of the eighteenth-century printed voyages, was also the most patently nationalist. In *Britons*, Linda Colley shows how important were the almost continual wars with Catholic Europe in this period to the development of self-conscious "Britons": "They came to define themselves as a single people not because of any political or cultural consensus at home, but rather in reaction to the other beyond their shores."[107] Accounts like Anson's enriched the significance of the exotic curiosities at St Andrews, telling the story which the objects only implied. Taken together, they explain (and are illuminated by) the remark which Samuel Johnson is said to have made when he viewed Richard Greene's Lichfield Museum on the occasion already mentioned: "Sir, I should as soon have thought of building a man of war, as of collecting such a museum."[108] The connection of these unlikes, quaint on the face of it, was natural to make at that time, for the one thing implied the other. Whatever the source of the "bottle of Gold Dust" which was kept in the Library at St Andrews, it was in its discreeter way as much part of the imperial triumph as were the barrels passing

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[106] This feature of the age is discussed in Johnson's *Rambler* no.144, of 3rd August, 1751.
[107] *Britons*, p.5.
[108] Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, p.709 (March 23rd, 1776).

through the City in 1744.[109]

Anson's *Voyage* had a peculiarly close thematic connection with the imperial British properties of the St Andrews Library. I do not offer it as a representative Library book, but wish to show rather that the student readers who made this title their favourite reading were amenable to the background argument of the book's home. I also wish to argue that the values implicit in that background argument governed, or were intended to govern, the whole business of reading, and I will now summarise that case as it has been evidenced in this chapter.

The Library as a building was regarded by visitors to the town and its university as the unique instance there of modern elegance, and as the focus of the university's contemporary reputation, such as it was. In a certain sense it *was* "the University", being the one non-collegiate building, and its modernity was more than architectural, for the Copyright Acts gave it, at least theoretically, a literary currency equal to that of the other British universities. The professors recognised and promoted this emblematic status, both in their own pronouncements about the Library, and in their attentions to its presentation, maintenance, and improvement. Both by accident and design, the Library became a sort of mission statement for the University, committing it to an established metropolitan tradition of polite secular learning, and to a newer but related culture of British imperialism.

It seems very natural for a university to speak of itself through its book collection in this way, but the message necessarily becomes more pointed if there is a strong contrast with its other institutional functions. We have heard the professors deprecating the college buildings, and John Wesley likening the United College in its appearance of neglect to a brothel.[110] In such circumstances, the medium does indeed become at least part of the message. Not

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[109] See Appendix I.
[110] See Introduction, p.2.

only was the Library advertising a London-centred intellectual culture, it was advertising books as the route into that culture, and correspondingly books as a looking-away from the traditional culture of Scotland. This was, of course, partly a matter of fact: despite the growth of printing and publishing in Edinburgh during the eighteenth century, such that it was finally second only to London in its total output, London was always far ahead, printing even titles which might well have been regarded as peculiarly Scottish – the sermons of Presbyterian divines like Hugh Blair, for instance.[111] The Library's message was therefore merely endorsing what was a positive truth about its own collection of books, and of British books in general: that they were overwhelmingly the produce of London. But in doing so, that message also authorised and adopted print as the medium of modernisation, both practical and symbolic, so that in the University, as well as in Scotland more generally, the characteristic form which social and intellectual development took was an assimilation of some sort to book-culture, and conversely the resistance to change was commonly expressed in allegiance to oral and scribal cultures.

Of this proposition, my first instance, treated in the next chapter, will be the Scottish Church, not only because as a peculiarly national and popular institution, specifically exempted from the effects of the Union of 1707, it underwent changes more convulsive and conspicuous than those which took place in areas of Scottish life already liberally trafficking with England, but also because the Church had been in previous centuries the founder, controller, and chief client of the universities in Scotland.[112] To

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[111] For Edinburgh printing, see R.A.Houston, 'Literacy, Education and the Culture of Print in Enlightenment Edinburgh', *History*, vol.LXXVIII, no.254, October, 1993, pp.373-92. He quotes (on pp.382-83) figures for the century of 97,360 titles for London, and 6033 for Edinburgh. It must be remembered, however, that Scottish law required the printing of great quantities of case-matter; such figures may therefore be unreliable guides to literary activity more narrowly defined (see David Stoker, '*The Eighteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue* and Provincial Imprints', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, no.24, 1995, p.15).

[112] John Knox had accordingly warned the General Assembly as follows: "Above all things preserve the Kirk from the bondage of the Universities. Never subject the pulpit to their judgement, neither yet exempt them from your jurisdiction."

observe it in the eighteenth century, therefore, is to realise that what we have seen in the present chapter – the commitment of St Andrews University to a polite, secular, British culture, centred in the book – was not the natural and involuntary product of the Union that it might by itself seem, but a deliberate choice which entailed revising some fundamental things in university and national life.

Quoted by L.Williams in 'Pulpit and Gown: Edinburgh University and the Church, 1760-1830', in *Scottish Universities: distinctiveness and diversity*, ed. Jennifer J. Carter and Donald J. Withrington, Edinburgh, 1992, pp.87-95 (p.87).

Chapter II: Church and print

In the previous chapter, I argued that during the eighteenth century St Andrews University was presenting itself as, and aiming to become, a polite British institution, and that the medium of both advertisement and actual transmutation was the Library. It was through the Library that, symbolically and actually, the provincial Scot would pass to become the polite Briton. This approach to the Union was only the academic variety of a comprehensive commitment to Britishness on the part of Scottish professional men, businessmen, and gentry. That the commitment was consensual among those classes, with only eccentric or fragmented opposition, is suggested by the nature of the debates and editorial attitudes even in a deliberately patriotic publication like *The Weekly Magazine*.[1] The one really substantial, institutionalised opposition to it might have been expected from the Church, for these reasons: specifically bourgeois aspirations could make only a very partial appeal to a socially inclusive national church having a more or less democratic, non-episcopal government; assimilations to England were merely threatening to an institution which had been given formal independence under the terms of the Union; and print-culture (in its own right, not merely as a branch of secular culture as a whole) was traditionally suspect to the Church of Scotland – for doctrinal reasons as well as more generally moral ones, as we shall see.

However, I have been speaking here of the Church as it was at the time of the Union; during the following fifty or sixty years, the Church's thinking and its politics were reformed until it largely conformed to and supported the secular ideology. The universities themselves were the major influences in that reform. They could

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[1] See I.C.Walker, '*The Weekly Magazine*: a Study', unpublished doctoral thesis, St Andrews University, 1967, pp.216-19. *The Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement* was founded by Walter Ruddiman in 1768, and published from then until 1779; with two changes of title, it continued to appear until 1784.

be so, and, in order themselves to develop, had to be so, because the two institutions were still very closely engaged in that period, sharing and trafficking in personnel at all levels (even in the case of Edinburgh University, which was not a religious foundation). At St Andrews, for instance, the Rector and the principals of colleges were necessarily ministers. All professors, upon appointment, had to satisfy the Presbytery of St Andrews of their doctrinal orthodoxy, and to sign for that purpose the Confession of Faith and Formula.[2] Many were selected from the ministry, or had been trained for it. Among the students, probably most were, like Robert Fergusson, at least considering the ministry for their career: Divinity was indeed the only vocational course of study available there at the conclusion of the Arts course. These and other engagements between Church and universities will be illustrated in the coming pages. They meant that the universities, in adopting London print-culture as their controlling standard, necessarily committed at least some part of the Church to the same ideology, and it was that part of it which became, as the universities grew in authority and prestige, the governing part. By the end of the century, the Church of Scotland had become a polite church and – more particularly my subject in this chapter – a bookish church: it debated in books, of course, as it had always done, but it also sermonised in books, worshipped from books, and through its ministers contributed extensively to printed literature.

The larger remodelling of the Church by the universities, of which this literary transformation was a part, has been very thoroughly documented, particularly in accounts of those leading entrepreneurs of "moderatism" who were mainly active in Edinburgh.[3] That remodelling was of course going forward in St Andrews as well, was indeed in some respects pioneered there, as I

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[2] Instances of the procedure may be found recorded in the Minutes of the Presbytery of St Andrews, 1762-78, St Andrews University Library MS CH2/1132/7: e.g. the admission in this form of William Barron (p.468).

[3] See especially Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment*, Edinburgh, 1985.

will now briefly indicate.

In 1689, the University had imprudently declared itself for King James VII, with a loyal *Addres of the University of St Andrews to the King*.[4] It was consequently purged by the Parliamentary Commission of 1690, losing many of its senior professors. The orthodoxy of St Andrews in the following years is evidenced in particular by the work of two of its professors of Divinity, James Hadow (Professor from 1707 until 1710, after which he became Principal of St Mary's), and Thomas Halyburton (1710-1712). Hadow was a leading apologist of strict Presbyterian doctrine – for instance, in his *Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Scotland, anent the Sacrament of Baptism vindicated* (1704). Halyburton wrote a critique of deism: *Rational Religion insufficient* (1714).[5] That there was a corresponding orthodoxy in the town of St Andrews is suggested in a few of the extracts selected by the compilers of an anti-Presbyterian tract called *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*: one, for instance, from a Christmas sermon of Robert Blair, "that famous Presbyterian preacher at St Andrew" (I will be returning to the book and to the sermon later in this chapter).[6]

When a controversial liberalism first appeared in St Andrews theology a few years later, it was James Hadow who led the General Assembly's commission of enquiry into the matter. The theology in question was that of Archibald Campbell, himself now Professor of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History at the University (he held the Chair from 1730 until 1756). Campbell had presented his views in three works in particular: *A Discourse proving that the Apostles were no Enthusiasts* (London, 1730), *Oratio de Vanitate Luminis Naturae* (Edinburgh, 1733; originally a sermon preached at the University in that year), and *An Enquiry into the Original of Moral*

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[4] Cant, *The University of St Andrews*, pp.92-93. In fact, as Cant shows, neither the town nor the University wholly shook off the reputation for Jacobitism until the election to the chancellorship of the Duke of Cumberland in 1746.

[5] Both works were published in Edinburgh.

[6] Gilbert Crockat and John Monroe, *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, London, 1786 (1692), p.101.

Virtue (Edinburgh, 1733). His thinking has many of the features which were to become characteristic of moderate theology (and of that caricature of it which its enemies made use of). He minimises the personal element in faith. Against the subjective enthusiasm of "the last age", he proposes a faith which is essentially social, not only because it is based on a shared mental discipline, the "manly principles of Reason", but also because its ethics are socially defined: "there is no Virtue but what passes between two intelligent Minds [...] virtuous Actions are done by one Mind to another".[7] His portrait of the apostles corresponds: founding our confidence in the scriptural evidences of Christ's divinity upon the good character of these men, he presents them as "men of the most sociable and chearful [sic], the sweetest, and the most obliging dispositions". Alexander Ferguson subsequently defined *politeness* as "a behaviour intended to please, or to oblige", and Campbell was positioning God Himself as the final reference of that social discipline of polite propiation; it was by this discipline, he believed, that man's instinctive self-love was converted into the desire to please others, and ultimately to please God. Christianity is a proper extension of secular sociability, for as Christians we pursue "universal eternal Esteem".[8]

This atonement of spiritual and secular life was, in one form or another, to be the essential principle of moderatism, and Campbell put the matter as plainly as any later proponent did. It was his starting-point in the instinct of self-love, an instinct he saw no need to regret or subdue, which primarily troubled the General Assembly, but some other, less essential, signs of the times were also noticed by the Assembly and by others. One Fife minister, for instance, remarks upon Campbell's liking for extra-scriptural authorities ("his good friends the ancient Philosophers") and upon the style and social context which seemed to challenge the republicanism of the Scottish Church ("I beg Pardon for medling so

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[7] *Discourse*, p.12; *Enquiry*, p.329.

[8] Ferguson's definition is quoted in Sher, *Church and University*, p.57. Campbell's phrase is used in the table of contents to Section VI of *An Enquiry*.

freely with an elegant Harangue, declaimed before an illustrious and learned Audience").[9] These are objections with a literary reference whose importance will become clear below.

Shortly after the publication of these works by Campbell, the General Assembly formally urged all ministers to preach the Gospel rather than reason and ethics.[10] Its particular investigation of Campbell's writings, however, seems to have been, in procedure, hurried and clumsy. This allowed him to gain the advantage in his vigorous replies without himself yielding any ground. In one answer, he quotes 28 lines from Pope's *Essay on Man* to support his own position on reason and self-love: not the argumentation of a penitent.[11] Of theologians such as Campbell, the Paisley minister John Witherspoon (an eloquent opponent of moderatism) ironically observed that "their truly laudable intention is, by altering Christianity, to reconcile it to moderation and common sense".[12] In the event, no sanction or even rebuke was administered, and Campbell may be said to have made a more liberal theology, and a more fashionably cultured churchmanship, secure at St Andrews.

It is true that the account of the University in the mid-1750s which Percival Stockdale gives in his *Memoirs* suggests that Presbyterian discipline, if not Presbyterian theology, had retained its traditional rigour. For the offence of trying to bury the United College's under-cook in coal, Stockdale was formally reprimanded, so he reports, "in a strain of moral, and theological reproofs, which was more congenial with the eloquence of Knox and Bunyan, than of Tillotson and Sherlock". These names were nicely chosen by Stockdale to characterise the opposing ideologies in the Scottish Church: the orthodox, evangelical ideology, with its tradition of

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[9] James Adams, *A Short Survey of an Oration entituled Oratio de Vanitate Luminis Naturae*, Edinburgh, 1733, pp.3 and 6.

[10] See Gordon Donaldson, *The Faith of the Scots*, London, 1990, p.107.

[11] See *Further explications with respect to some articles of the former charge, wherein the Committee for Purity of Doctrine have declar'd themselves not satisfy'd*, Edinburgh, 1736, pp.72-73.

[12] John Witherspoon, *Ecclesiastical Characteristics*, Edinburgh, 1754 (1753), p.30.

strenuous, personal faith, and the moderate latitudinarian ideology, with its increasingly English affiliations. And with his word "eloquence" he likewise points to a corresponding contrast of literary cultures. Yet if Stockdale was indeed persecuted (as here and elsewhere he dramatises it) by ideologues of the former type, there were also, as he admits, several "liberal professors" who (again we may doubt this) supported him. In fact it is probable that these professors were already in the majority. Stockdale's own presence in the University suggests as much, for he was the son of an Anglican parson and was himself intended for that ministry. And such discipline as was used against him (in reality no more than some tickings-off, and a refusal to exempt him from university worship on the Sabbath) probably had more to do with Stockdale's ill-timed Jacobite connections (he lodged in a non-juring episcopal minister's household, and worshipped there) than with genuine vestiges at St Andrews of what he calls "the virulence of John Calvin".[13]

Stockdale's melodramatic Calvinising of whatever attempts were made to rule him is, then, properly interpreted as an instance of that caricature of Presbyterianism which the moderates expressly wished to unfound, rather than as evidence of anything still really going on at St Andrews. The Principal of Stockdale's own college was Thomas Tullidelph, whom James Hall calls "the great leader of the moderate party". The two most notable appointments of that same decade were made directly from Edinburgh moderate circles: first Robert Watson, a candidate for the ministry, relative of Hugh Blair, and briefly spokesman, as Rhetoric lecturer to public audiences in Edinburgh, of the newly literary church, and then William Wilkie, member of the Select Society and also a member, with Blair and George Wishart (whom Alexander Carlyle called "the Tillotson of the Church of Scotland"), of its committee for belles lettres.[14] By the 1760s, St Andrews University had, like

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[13] *The Memoirs of the Life, and Writings of Percival Stockdale*, 2 vols, London, 1809, vol.I, pp.206, 207, and 197.

[14] On Tullidelph, see Hall, *Travels in Scotland*, vol.I, p.112. For the quotation

Edinburgh, a moderate establishment. When Watson succeeded Tullidelph in 1778, and was accordingly "called" to be Minister of the Parish of St Leonard's, the text for his trial sermon was "Let your moderation be known unto all men" (*Philippians*, 4.5).[15]

Robert Watson had indeed by then already made his "moderation [...] known unto all men", not only in his literary lectures in the University but also in his one complete published work, his *History of the Reign of Philip II*, in which the monarch's disastrous career is interpreted as the product of unworldly and bigoted religion.[16] But of course the moderates, in their liberalising and gentrifying of the Church, did not carry "all men" with them: rather, their success brought ecclesiastical divisions. The Church of Scotland had before then been characteristically a popular church. Primarily, its system of government had been democratic. This is indeed how the authors of *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, Gilbert Crockat and John Monroe, explain the demotic style of church service which their book anthologises:

> In the first place then, I am to give you the true character of Presbyterian pastors and people. I shall begin with the people; for they are truly the guides, and their pastors must follow them, whom they pretend to conduct; for the preachers of the new gospel, knowing that their trade had no old nor sure foundation, are forced to flee to this new and unaccountable notion, that the calling and constituting of ministers is in the power of the mob.[17]

Perhaps the same point was being made in Archibald Pitcairne's

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about Wishart, see Cameron, ed., *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, p. 878. On Wilkie, see Sher, *Church and University*, p. 61. I will be discussing the Edinburgh lectures, and Watson's part in them, in Chapter IV.

[15] Minutes of the Presbytery of St Andrews, St Andrews University Library MS CH2/1132/8, p.1. The word "moderation" was of course not being used directly in allusion to its church-party sense here, but that party sense grew out of this attachment of liberal ministers to both the ideology implied in the word and the word itself – "long a fashionable or cant phrase among them", as John Witherspoon claims in his *Serious Apology for the Ecclesiastical Characteristics* (1762), in *Works*, 9 vols, 1815, vol.VI, p.249.

[16] *The History of the Reign of Philip the Second of Spain*, 2 vols, London, 1777. See my discussion of this work in Chapter III.

[17] *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.10.

similarly hostile dramatisation of church affairs, *The Assembly*, where the Elder is the only officer of the Church who speaks Scots.[18]

It was not only, however, that the laity had a prescribed part in the appointment and supervision of the ministry, and in the direction of the Church as a whole, though this was indeed important. The violent history of the Church of Scotland since its inception, in the disputing and defending of its doctrines and discipline as far as martyrdom, combined perhaps with the inherently alarming tenets of Calvinism, had made the Church a passionately self-conscious and evangelistic one. Thus it was that Scottish congregations, being so much more informed of, and engaged in, their established faith than were their English counterparts, disappointed the missionaries of Methodism, itself essentially a popular Christianity, when they came to evangelise the country in the second half of the eighteenth century. One of those missionaries, John Pawson, explained the resistance of the Scots in a letter to John Wesley: "so greatly are they bigoted to their own opinions, their mode of church government, and way of worship, that it does not appear probable, that our preachers will ever be of much use to that people."[19]

But by the time of Pawson's attempts, the Scottish Church was nevertheless losing its comprehensiveness. Successive adjustments to the Union, and in particular the progressive re-introduction of patronage, had caused it to shed by successive schisms its more strictly orthodox congregations. The people's control of "the call" having been compromised in the established Church, the ministry had been recruiting a different kind of men, "young clergy and preachers, who seem to affect a new way of moral preaching and lax management, suited to the taste of many Patrons and Heritors".[20] It was a development satirised in John

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[18] Originally published in 1722, but written in 1692.
[19] Quoted in Samuel J. Rogal, *John Wesley's Mission to Scotland, 1751-1790*, Lewiston, N.Y., 1988, p.10.
[20] Quoted from a sermon preached on the patronage question in 1733 by John

Witherspoon's *Ecclesiastical Characteristics*, an ironic manual of moderate churchmanship first published in 1753. "The fourth and last rule for a preacher [...], not as being the least, but the most important", writes Witherspoon, is that he should "be very unacceptable to the people". The genealogy of this situation, as I have just indicated it above, is confirmed in the one exception which Witherspoon allows: a preacher may "speak even in Whitefield's style, when his settlement has the misfortune to depend upon the people". The social implications of the change are suggested in Witherspoon's next "maxim": "A minister must endeavour to acquire as great a degree of politeness, in his carriage and behaviour, and to catch as much of the air and manner of a fine gentleman, as possibly he can."[21] Samuel Johnson noticed this "politeness" in some ministers in the Hebridean islands, regarding it with approval as a relaxation from the "ancient rigour of puritanism".[22] So, in mainland ministers, did Thomas Pennant: "They are much changed from the enthusiastic, furious, illiterate teachers of old times, and have taken up the mild method of persuasion [...] They are the most decent and consistent in their conduct of any class of men of their order."[23] Pennant agrees with the spirit of the time in relating style of ministry, and particularly of preaching, to politeness of conduct as a whole, a relationship essential to the ideology of moderatism. It is noticeable and significant, too, that he thinks of the ministers' "order", their profession, as their generic set, and their nationality as a secondary category. That re-ordering of thought was a necessary condition for the gentrifying of the established Scottish Church. Its ministers were joining a class, and a genteel one. Speaking at the end of a century of secessions, the minister Samuel Martin accordingly saw a socially divided church-going population: "The master goes one

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Willison, printed in *Works*, 4 vols, Edinburgh, 1816, vol.I (p.191).

[21] *Ecclesiastical Characteristics*, pp.14, 20, and 21.

[22] Boswell, *Journey* , p.87.

[23] Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland. MDCCLXIX*, Warrington, 1774 (1771), p.155.

way: the servant goes another."[24]

I have shown that a moderate theology had taken root in St Andrews by the middle of the century, and this associated gentrification of the Church is likewise observable there. Both dimensions of the change are dramatised in Robert Fergusson's poem 'Elegy on John Hogg, late Porter to the University of St Andrews'.[25] Hogg, the college servant, evidently held on to that popular Presbyterianism which the moderates had shaken off. Inevitably his fundamentalism puts him at odds with academic natural philosophy:

> Either the Bible tells a lie,
> Or you're a' out.

But science was not at that time the principal locus of religious sides-taking: the more immediate issue was the proper derivation of morality. Witherspoon advises his moderates that "duties are to be recommended only from *rational considerations*", and only in relation to their "advantages in the present life, without any regard to a future state". They are to be illustrated not from Scripture but "from the authority and examples of the heathens".[26] Fergusson's Hogg, on the contrary, when he "begude to moralize", would take his ethics directly from the Old Testament and stamp them accordingly:

> Sae spake auld Solomon the wise
> Divine profound!

He relates them uncompromisingly to "a future state":

> He gar'd ilk sinner sigh an' groan,
> And fear hell's flame.

It is not only Hogg's stubborn unsophistication but also his practical familiarity with the Old Testament that sets him apart from the culture shared by contemporary professors and ministers:

> Nae dominie, or wise mess John,
> Was better lear'd in Solomon.

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[24] *Sermons chiefly occasional on Important Subjects*, Cupar, 1804, p.159.
[25] *Poems*, vol.II, pp.191-94.
[26] Witherspoon, *Ecclesiastical Characteristics*, pp.15, 14, and 17.

There is no other evidence to suggest that Hogg himself was a secessionist, but it was Hogg's kind which was quitting the Church in the schisms of the eighteenth century, taking with it much that was characteristic of Scottish popular culture. It may well have been deliberately that Fergusson, writing in Scots, begins his humorous but sympathetic tribute to the college porter in a manner strongly reminiscent of old-style Presbyterian rhetoric. Informal remonstrations with Death – "Death, what's ado?" – or with the Devil were a commonplace in the traditional pulpit, and often enough replies were not wanting. Possibly Death is making it a dialogue here in the next words, "the de'il be licket".[27] This brisk vocative technique is one of the preaching tropes specifically deplored by Crockat and Monroe. Some of the Presbyterian ministers, they say, "have an odd way of acting in the pulpit, personating discourses often by way of dialogue betwixt them and the devil". Fergusson's image of the porter dragged through Death's gate "As dead's a log" belongs to the same pulpit rhetoric, not simply as one of Crockat and Monroe's "impertinent and base similies", but as bringing the Last Things intimately into daily life.[28] I mention that Fergusson is writing in Scots: the point is that this rhetoric was also characteristic of Scots speech and writing as a whole.[29] The new liberal theology which lent men so much more freedom to live a secular life on secular terms without blame, and the deliberate social uplift which alienated the popular element in the Church, were taking the Church out of this traditional Scots culture (traditional, that is, at least since the Reformation). Nowhere was that more evident than in the contrasting languages of the ministry: the popular-unreformed and the polite-improved. We have seen something of the theological and social changes which underlay these languages; I will now examine the languages

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[27] So Fergusson's editor McDiarmid suggests: see *Poems*, vol.II, p.304, note 1.
[28] *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, pp.27-28.
[29] See, for instance, Kurt Wittig, *The Scottish Tradition in Literature*, Edinburgh, 1958, p.18: "Barbour is only the first of a long series of Scottish writers who seem not only to be on terms of an informal intimacy with God (or the Devil), but even to be disposed, on occasion, to argue with him."

in more detail, and suggest what the motives and consequences of "improvement" were.

The fullest showcase of traditional Presbyterian rhetoric still available to us is *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*. It is a wholly hostile presentation, but it caricatures by selection rather than by fabrication. It was printed in London, and addressed primarily to an English audience, so that it makes much of the national element in its chosen absurdities; in fact it picks out exactly those demotic Scottish qualities which the new moderatism (still of course a Presbyterian faith) wished to discard. Therefore it highlights those features of the old liturgical rhetoric which subsequently distinguished it from the new. And although *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* pre-dates moderatism by many years, it was reprinted several times during the eighteenth century, as was a contemporary *Answer*: latterly, the two tracts were sometimes bound together.[30] Thus the text became a part of the Church debate. St Andrews University had a copy of the 1719 edition, and marginalia in it show that students were still reading it in the 1760s and 1770s.[31] But it must be said that even without these pertinencies, the work would be an essential reference, since it prints what otherwise rarely appeared in print, what was indeed characterised by its essentially colloquial culture. As Crockat and Monroe put it in their ironic 'Catechism':

> Q. How do the Presbyterians worship God?
>
> A. In words they would not have printed.

Therefore the evidence was "chiefly taken in writing from their mouths".[32]

The old Presbyterian pulpit rhetoric (I will speak of prayers a little

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[30] The first editions were respectively 1692 and 1693. According to the British Library Catalogue, there were eighteenth-century editions of *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* in 1718, 1719, 1738, 1748, 1766, 1789, and 1790 (this listing omits the edition of 1786). Of the *Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, the B.L.C. notes one such reappearance only, in 1789.

[31] This copy is now class-marked sBX9180.C8D19. One such marginalium is recorded in Chapter VI, below.

[32] *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, pp.98 and 155.

later) was essentially oral in two respects: its context of time and space was occasional and local, at odds therefore with the assumption of transferability made in all writing, and especially in print; and its habit was dialogic rather than oratorical, commonly using those agonistic forms which Walter Ong contrasts with the disengagement of the written text.[33]

Of the first oral characteristic, the localism of time and space, we have an example from the preaching of John Welsh, a minister of East Lothian whom Crockat and Monroe describe as "a man of great esteem among their vulgar".[34] Welsh is preaching against the episcopalian clergy:

> Sirs, if ever you hear these rogues, you will cry out at the day of judgment, O Arthur-seat, fall upon us! O Pentland Hills, fall upon us! The grass and the corn that you see growing there will be a witness against you; yea, and that cow's horns passing by, will be a witness against you.[35]

Here, the immediate scene and the immediate moment are made into realisations of Christian doctrine, a wholly immanent eschatology. Crockat and Monroe illustrate their complaint about the "impertinent and base similies" used by Presbyterian preachers with many similar examples. This was imagery which dramatised (vulgarised, the compilers would have said) the Christian truths in locally intelligible terms, of course, but its trend was really away from metaphor and simile altogether, and towards a more literal siting of those truths in the locality, and this is what Welsh's grass and cow's horns – not imagery at all but actual instruments of God – are intended to effect.

Such a trend was opposite to the generalising tendency of writing and the centralising tendency of print. Its direction, linguistically, was toward dialect. The contrast is neatly implied in one of the *Spectator* papers, a supposed letter on the subject of the correct reading of printed prayers in church. Speaking scornfully of

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[33] Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, pp.43-45.
[34] *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.102.
[35] *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.103.

idiosyncratic reading tones, the writer (in fact, Richard Steele) instances "one Andrew Cant, [...] a Presbyterian minister in some illiterate part of Scotland, who by exercise and use had obtained the faculty, *alias* gift, of talking in the pulpit in such a dialect, that it's said he was understood by none but his own congregation, and not by all of them".[36] In this drift towards the dialectal ultimate of a one-person language, pulpit discourse would be travelling directly away from print, the very medium which had recently been proposed in *The Spectator* as the ideal for the sermon.[37]

The uncompromised provincialism of this rhetoric persisted, according to Crockat and Monroe, in the ministers' talk outside their churches, so that "it will not be thought strange that the height of pride and rusticity should appear in their conversation".[38] I mention this as a reminder that the language of the pulpit was inseparable from the social complexion of the ministry, as it was also inseparable from clerical politics. *The Spectator's* exemplary reader-aloud was after all reading prayers mostly written or edited by an archbishop of Canterbury.

The second essentially oral characteristic of the old Presbyterian rhetoric was its habit of dialogue. I have already quoted Crockat and Monroe on their "odd way of acting in the pulpit, personating discourses often by way of dialogue betwixt them and the devil". The examples which the compilers supply in fact show a wider repertoire of *dramatis personae* than that, including Robert Bellarmine, John Calvin, Jesus, and God, with their dramatic entrances, actions, and props oratorically represented. But besides these lively quasi-performances, the preacher's address was regularly bounced off his congregation in dialogue form. Of Robert Blair, the St Andrews town minister mentioned above, Crockat and Monroe record the following:

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[36] *The Spectator*, no.147, August 18th, 1711 (quoted from the edition of George A. Aitken, 8 vols, London, 1898, vol.II, p.316). Steele introduces this minister as a possible etymology for the word *cant*.

[37] In no.106, July 2nd, 1711. I discuss this paper later in the chapter.

[38] *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.29.

> He preached often against the observation of Christmas; and said once in a Scotch jingle: "You will say, Sirs, good old Yool-Day (*Christmas*); I'll tell you, good old Fool day; you will say it is a brave Holiday; I tell you it is a brave Belly day; You will say, these are bonny (*gay*) Formalities; but I tell you, they are bonny fartalities."[39]

The agonistic "you" and "I" is one of the common tropes of these sermons (hardly making sense in print, it re-appears in printed sermons as the "you" of an invisible readership, or the "we" of common humanity). These pronouns were not rhetorical abstractions. Having no unseen congregation (i.e. no readership) to consider, the ministers could specify exactly all or some part of his audience when he spoke. As John Witherspoon said, "preaching, in order to be useful, must be very particular and close in application".[40] So, in the New Year of 1718, John Wylie, the St Andrews graduate, remonstrated thus with the young people in his church:

> Now, you young lasses and young lads will be all looking out for bonny wallies [gifts] at this time of the year; but come all to me and I'll give you bonny wallie grace; I'll give you bonny wallie Christ Jesus; but this is gibbers to a hankle [many] of you.[41]

Such sermons were essentially colloquies, even if only one man was doing the talking. Mutual knowledge between minister and congregation was essential to them. That is one reason for the traditional Presbyterian dread of schism: it created a "public" or impersonal religion by loosening the parochial tie between people and minister. Early in the century, the Professor of Divinity at St Andrews, Thomas Halyburton, foresaw and deplored the mobile congregation: "We shall have people running about seeking to

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[39] *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.101: glosses supplied by the authors.
[40] From his sermon 'Ministerial Character and Duty', no.20 in *Works*, 1814, vol.V, p.135.
[41] *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.133. This partitioning of an audience, as a faculty special to oral address, is something which I will discuss in Chapter VI.

have their ears gratified [...] we will get a public religion in the room of real godliness."[42] The moderates thought otherwise. For Hugh Blair, it was a weakness of Presbyterianism that "It connects the Teachers too closely with the People", and when the problem of schism was debated at the General Assembly in the 1760s, the moderate party spoke in defence of it.[43] Accordingly, it was Hugh Blair whose printed sermons established the Presbyterian pulpit as a producer of polite reading for the library, where the "running about" could be done conveniently among shelves (I resume this theme later in the chapter). The ideal which Blair's model supplanted, of sermons given while eternity exerted its immediate pressure upon time and place, is well suggested in what Thomas Halyburton said of his own death-bed: "This is the best pulpit that ever I was in."[44]

Therefore the phrase "from their mouths", which I have already quoted, properly defines the rhetoric of old Presbyterianism, and this is true of its prayers as well as of its sermons, for praying was likewise preferred textless. Crockat and Monroe introduce the theme as follows:

> Lastly, I shall give you some taste of that extemporary gibberish which they use instead of prayer, and for which they have justled out, not only all the liturgies of the pure and primitive church, but even the Lord's prayer itself; because it is an evident argument and pattern for Christians praying in a set form.[45]

The reply made to this charge in the *Answer* was that not the Lord's Prayer as such, but its use as a prescribed routine, had been

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[42] *Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Thomas Halyburton*, Edinburgh, 1714, p.180. After their first publication in 1714, these *Memoirs* became an influential evangelical text.

[43] Quotation from Blair's letter to Adam Smith, April 3rd, 1776, in *The Correspondence of Adam Smith*, ed. Ernest Campbell Mossner and Ian Simpson Ross, Oxford, 1977, p.189. The debate on schism is discussed in Thomas Somerville, *My Own Life and Times: 1741-1814*, Edinburgh, 1861, pp.80-90; also by Sher, *Church and University*, pp.132-34.

[44] *Memoirs*, p.201.

[45] *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.10.

discarded in order "to claim our Christian liberty from a human imposition".[46] This distrust of "human imposition" introduces us to the thinking which justified all those "extemporary ravings, which they miscall spiritual preaching and praying". Prayers and sermon were supposed to be the product of divine inspiration, not of human composition or reading: "The curates go to their books for preachings, but we go to our knees for our preachings."[47] And the congregation, for their part, were not to suppose themselves listening to merely human speech, though that did not protect them from the *ad hominem* force which I have described above. John Willison, the Dundee minister and opponent of moderatism, instructed his congregation on the proper reception of sermons thus: "believe, 1st, That it is God who speaks; the word is his, and not man's. 2nd. That he speaks to you in particular, as if he mentioned you by name and surname."[48]

This merely conduitive function of the minister between God and the laity had been insisted upon in the founding texts of Presbyterianism. Ministers, wrote Calvin, were the means God chose to use for his continuing address to humanity: "par la bouche des hommes il parle à nous comme du ciel."[49] "They wash the soules with the bloode of Jesus Christe which abundantly drops from their lips," says an early Scottish reformation directive.[50] John Davidson (a student and then regent at St Andrews in the time of the Scottish Reformation) takes up the eucharistic connection when he calls the minister's sermon a "spirituall Feist".[51] One recent explicator of Presbyterianism shows that these expressions were not merely a rhetoric: "The sermon is the spoken sacrament,

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[46] *An Answer*, p.59.
[47] *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.43 ("curates" = Episcopal ministers).
[48] John Willison, *The Whole Practical Works*, p.53. Willison was minister of Dundee South from 1716 until his death in 1760.
[49] John Calvin, *Institution de la réligion chrestienne*, ed. Jean-Daniel Benoît, Paris, 1961, p.55 (IV.iii.1 in the 1536 arrangement).
[50] *The Superintendants, Ministers, and Commissioners of the Churches Reformed within Scotland to all the Faithful of Scotland*, 1565, quoted by R. Stuart Louden in *The True Face of the Kirk*, London, 1963, p.129.
[51] John Davidson, *Ane Dialog or Mutuall Talking*, 1574, quoted in Cameron, ed., *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, p.668.

marked, in God's goodness, by the Real Presence of the living Christ."[52] Prayers and sermons, accordingly, are sacramental occasions or events, not texts. It is of their essence to be oral.[53]

I will now turn to the liturgical word as it was recast by the moderates, but it ought first to be mentioned here that this recasting, however apparently authoritative in the Church by the end of the century, was not then permanent. Of course the shift toward written and printed forms has been a feature of western culture for some centuries, and it was not in any general sense checked in Scotland. However, the evangelical revival there in the nineteenth century did to some extent, and for a limited period, restore the traditional notion of divinity immanent in the sermon, and with it therefore something of the old "raving in pulpits".[54] It likewise restored the ideal of extemporary prayer. Hence, for instance, Thomas Creevey's impression of the preaching of the evangelical leader Thomas Chalmers, in 1825, when Chalmers was Professor of Moral Philosophy at St Andrews:

> I never beheld a fitter subject for Bedlam than he was [...] The stuff the fellow preached could only be surpassed by his manner of roaring it out. I expected he would have carried the poor Kirkaldy pulpit clean away. Then his *Scotch* too! [55]

Hence also Judge Cockburn's memories of the prayers (as well as sermons) endured by him on circuit, and of one in particular so extended – "the reverend gentleman [...] praying away, loud and long, as if there had been nothing else to do than to hear him perform" – that the presiding judge, Lord Hermand, "gave him a jog with his elbow, and whispered, with his ordinary birr: 'We've a great deal of business, sir'".[56] Stories of this sort about the established Church, from Scottish fictions and memoirs of the

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[52] Louden, *The True Face of the Kirk*, p.32.
[53] "The spoken word is always an event": Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, p.75.
[54] *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p.42.
[55] *The Creevey Papers*, ed. Herbert Maxwell, London, 1912, pp.426-27.
[56] Henry Cockburn, *Circuit Journeys*, Hawick, 1983 (1888), p.25.

nineteenth century, are so familiar that it has seemed necessary to place them in their relation to the changes discussed in the present chapter, and to recall that the evangelical style of worship did return to supplant the "modernisations" of the eighteenth century.

Back in that century: I have mentioned that moderatism was a social and political movement, as much as a liturgical one. To some extent the change in the style of the Scottish sermon may therefore be explained as belonging to a larger assimilation to English metropolitan values, that assimilation which Pennant acknowledges when he compares the different "sets" within the clerical "order", and puts Scotland top. Significantly he goes on to say of Scottish ministers that "their discourse is not less improving than the table they entertain the stranger at is hospitable": he is testing and approving them for exactly what Samuel Johnson was pleased to find in St Andrews – "lettered hospitality".[57] The "English" sermon was as much a social as a liturgical model, then. The point is made in a scene of *Adam Blair*, John Lockhart's novel published in 1822 but set in the 1750s, when Blair himself meets the self-important young tutor Jamieson, just returned with his charge from the grand tour (which for a Scotsman commonly included England). Jamieson is described as a

> smart, and rather pompous-looking young man [...] who, having performed the important exploit of a *grand tour*, had perhaps thought himself entitled to assume more of the external appearances of a man of the world than was, or indeed is yet, common among the probationers of the Scottish Church – and even to hold his head a good deal above such a plain parish priest of the old school, as he rightly supposed the minister of Cross-Meikle to be.

He accordingly tells Adam Blair (who is that minister)

> long stories about the superiority of some preachers he had met with in England, over any he had yet heard in

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[57] *A Tour in Scotland. MDCCLXIX*, p.155. For Johnson's phrase, see my previous chapter.

> Scotland; the superior decency of the Episcopal ritual,
> and some other topics of the same sort which it is
> seldom, under any circumstances, a very agreeable thing
> for any clergyman of the Presbyterian church to hear
> discussed.[58]

Likewise, another fictional young tutor, William Malcolm in Galt's *Annals of the Parish*, returns to his old parish and delivers a sermon in what Mr Balwhidder considers "language rather too Englified, [...] the language of the prelatic hierarchy of England".[59] If this language was appreciated by those groupings in Scotland most in sympathy and communication with English culture – the nobility and gentry, the young, those in "the east country" where Malcolm is tutor – it was correspondingly alien and unpleasing to others. Hence the scene in Robert Burns' 'Holy Fair', where the polite sermon in the "English style" alienates the ungenteel congregations. As soon as this "cauld Harangue" begins,

> aff the godly pour in thrangs
> To gie the jars an' barrels
> A lift that day.[60]

But what happened to the Scottish sermon, and to the Scottish liturgy as a whole, was not merely a social repositioning: it was a revision of the whole concept of the sermon as a discourse. When, at St Andrews in the 1750s, Percival Stockdale engaged in a sort of flyting (he calls it a "paper war") with some students of St Mary's, it was one of his jibes to suggest that his latest opponent abandon verse-making and either take up manual labour,

> Or, if some higher task thy fancy please, [...]
> Turn minister of God, and preach, in Fife,
> Or Tillotson, or nonsense, all thy life.[61]

Here certainly is a jeer at provincialism, the suggestion that the best

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[58] *Adam Blair*, Edinburgh, 1963, pp.30-31.
[59] John Galt, *Annals of the Parish*, ed. James Kinsley, London, 1967 (1821), p.132 (Chapter XXX).
[60] Robert Burns, *Poems and Songs*, ed. James Kinsley, 3 vols, Oxford, 1968, vol.I, p.133.
[61] *Memoirs*, London, 1809, vol.I, p.184.

that can be achieved in Fife is to echo the culture of England. Stockdale was, after all, the son of an English clergyman. But there is a more strictly literary point to the hit. Tillotson was among the most highly respected of the English preachers in print, and St Mary's students (including Robert Watson in his time there) were reading his sermons, and those of other English churchmen. An end-of-session address by Principal James Gillespie to these students in 1781 recommended this reading, on the grounds that "Good English Sermons [...] not only furnish Materials for the Pulpit, but will help to form a style proper for it".[62] The St Mary's students were not, then, taught to "go to our knees for our preachings". But Tillotson and Atterbury and others were not, even in England, simply sermonisers, pulpit-matter. They were, more largely, library-matter, part of literature as a whole. They formed, as Samuel Johnson said, "a considerable branch of English literature: so that a library must be very imperfect if it has not a numerous collection of sermons".[63] Stockdale complains of one student preparing for the ministry, with whom he shared a room in college for a while, that "of polite learning, he had not one idea".[64] This is the charge which his piece of verse made, justly or not, against the college as a whole, and which explains Tillotson as the chosen remedy. For Stockdale, Tillotson's name stood for polite learning in gown and bands.

Now in Scotland this paradigm of the ministry as a branch of polite learning had great professional pertinence. I have mentioned the democratic character of Presbyterian church government in relation to the laity. It was also democratic within its clergy, in that for all qualified clergy there was only one clerical rank. For this reason Alexander Carlyle, in a sermon of 1767, called the Church of Scotland "a republic of no imperfect kind".[65] Rising

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[62] St Andrews University Library MS 37511(a).
[63] Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, p.1145 (May 8th, 1781).
[64] *Memoirs*, vol.I, p.212.
[65] 'The tendency of the constitution of the Church of Scotland to form the temper, spirit, and character, of her ministers', printed in *The Scotch Preacher*, 4 vols, Edinburgh, 1789, vol.I, pp.1-25 (p.3).

in such a church was certainly possible. There were the more important parishes to hope for. Hugh Blair, for instance, rose from Collessie in Fife to John Knox's own St Giles' in Edinburgh, which one early biographer of Blair calls "the most honourable station to which, as a Scottish clergyman, he could aspire".[66] But he was still only forty years old when he got there, in 1758, preparatory to a forty-two year stay. His next appointment is the telling one – as lecturer on Rhetoric in 1759 and university professor in the subject in 1760. This was the sort of strategy which Carlyle recommended to his clerical audience (the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale) in the sermon just mentioned: if the "republic" of the Church offered limited scope to ambition, ministers should look to "that field of distinction so lately opened to the learned of this country, I mean composition, and the art of writing [...] It is here, ye rising hopes of our Jerusalem! it is here that you must look for your rewards in this world".[67]

In so far as these ministers in Carlyle's audience were the "hopes of our Jerusalem", he presumably did not mean to encourage them to leave the ministry when they wrote. Sometimes they did, but often it seems that they did not, even when their writing led them into academic careers. The university was indeed commonly regarded as the upper reaches of the clerical career, as for instance John Witherspoon characterises it when he refers to "ecclesiastical persons of whatever rank, whether principals of colleges, professors of divinity, ministers, or even probationers".[68] But in fact this had become a rather too rigid interpretation of the relationship between minister and university. Just as the sermon was becoming a "branch of English literature", so the minister was becoming more largely a man of letters, for whom the university was his natural employer as the centre of "polite learning". And indeed "the Men of Letters" was a phrase used by the Independent

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[66] Alexander Stewart's introduction to Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, 2 vols, Edinburgh, 1814, vol.I, p.xiv.
[67] *The Scotch Preacher*, vol.II, p.25.
[68] *Ecclesiastical Characteristics*, pp.8-9.

evangelist John Glas to identify the moderates as a whole.[69]

Such a man with such a career was William Wilkie, minister at Ratho in the 1750s. He had indeed gained some reputation as a scientific farmer, but his first editor, Robert Anderson, regarded this labour as forced upon Wilkie by poverty: it is Wilkie's literature which Anderson presents as a professional strategy. Wilkie had considered writing a novel, but, says Anderson, "that species of writing, though it required the finest parts, was not likely to lead to any preferment". Nor was philosophy: "To compose a book in philosophy would be doing nothing." On the other hand, "there was not any study that appeared to him at once so congenial to his powers, and so conducive to his interest, as poetry. He, therefore, determined to write an epic poem."[70] His *Epigoniad* was published in 1757. In 1759 he was appointed professor of Natural Philosophy at St Andrews. Anderson says that Wilkie had pressed for the appointment at the General Assembly of that year, where his candidacy had the eventually decisive backing of the Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics at St Andrews, Robert Watson. I do not mean to suggest that "literature", when Carlyle and his contemporaries used the word, necessarily meant fiction or poetry. As Anderson remarks, "Had Wilkie been born and educated in the present reign, it is probable that he would have courted the historic muse."[71] Watson's own successor, William Barron, likewise was promoted from the ministry; the literary medium which gave him passage consisted primarily of a work on colonial history.[72] In his lectures on Rhetoric, Barron subsequently repeated what Carlyle had said about the ministry: cramped in itself, "the great leisure it affords, if converted to the purposes of literature, may be rendered subservient both to fame and fortune".[73]

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[69] In *A Letter to Mr John Willison on a passage in his Synodical Sermon, concerning illiterate ministers*, Edinburgh, 1734, p.4.

[70] *Complete Edition of the Poets of Great Britain*, ed. Robert Anderson, 13 vols, London, 1794-95, vol.XI, 1794, p.viii. It is not clear from the context what sort of "philosophy" Anderson means.

[71] Anderson, *Poets of Great Britain*, p.ix.

[72] *History of the Colonization of the Free States of Antiquity*, London, 1777.

[73] *Lectures on Belles Lettres and Logic*, 2 vols, London, 1806, vol.I, p.553.

That lecture, his number 33, was entitled 'Eloquence of the Pulpit'. Barron's picture of clerical authorship as liberation from a narrow place corresponds to this cramming of the "pulpit" into only one lecture, and more largely to the cramped place of the sermon in the whole conspectus of the Rhetoric which he and others were then teaching in Scotland. But then his predecessor at St Andrews, Robert Watson, had begun *his* lectures by releasing the subject from its confinement "to one particular Sort of Discourse viz; Publick Orations", and applying it to "all the different kinds of Discourse".[74] This at once reduced the stature of the sermon – the sermon, that is, considered as speech rather than literature; but in practice the sermon was not so much reduced as brought under new rules precisely as literature, the rules of written composition. James Boswell records that "composition" was a "favourite topic of Dr Watson's", and it appears that Watson meant it for approval when he told Dr Johnson that "Dr. Hugh Blair has taken a week to compose a sermon".[75] Barron himself thought likewise, and in his lecture on the sermon he told his students, "Write slowly, and revise with care".[76] Here is the very antithesis of "extemporary ravings".

The sermon, then, was being subsumed at this period into the general category "literature", and ministers were being encouraged to make themselves into men of letters, were in fact coming into the universities in that character. In so far as the discipline of Rhetoric in particular regulated attitudes to polite literature in the universities, and in the Church which the universities supplied with its ministers, this regulation tended to confirm the Tillotsonian model of the sermon: a laboriously and privately composed text, set within a larger printed literature, the whole naturally imagined in a library, which is indeed where Watson and Barron's students, and Principal Gillespie's for that matter, were

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[74] 'A Treatise on Rhetorick', 1758, St Andrews University MS PN173.W1, fols.1r-1v.
[75] Boswell, *Journal*, p.36 (August 19th).
[76] Barron, *Lectures on Belles Lettres and Logic*, vol.I, p.553.

finding Tillotson and the other English churchmen. After all, as I have already quoted Samuel Johnson saying, "a library must be very imperfect if it has not a numerous collection of sermons". And, as another Englishman observed, "The Sermons of our Divines are allowed, by the liberal part of Europe, to be the best and purest compositions within the province of Theology."[77] Both these statements make the printed sermon a text among texts, and in a third quotation, from George Crabbe's poem *The Library*, we see the process of this literary entropy calming the excitements of religious debate and fitting it for the quiet of the library shelf:

> here the dormant Fury rests unsought,
> And Zeal sleeps soundly by the foes she fought:
> Calvin grows gentle in this silent coast,
> Nor finds a single heretic to roast:
> Here, their fierce rage subdu'd, and lost their pride,
> The Pope and Luther slumber side by side.[78]

Thought of as literature, then, the sermon became of one medium with a variety of discourses hitherto considered at odds with or at least alien to religion. One consequence of this was a reflux into the sermon of values and even texts from those other discourses. Preachers were finding their material in Latin and Greek authors, for instance, as well as in the Bible (I have already noticed this development as to ethics on p.53, above). When Witherspoon treats this subject in *Ecclesiastical Characteristics*, he quotes Edward Young:

> doctors Scripture for the classics quit,
> Polite apostates from God's grace to wit.

But in fact Young's verse was itself among those "modern printed poems" which Witherspoon observes following "the classics" into the pulpit: "How often have I heard parts of Mr Addison's Cato,

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[77] John Langhorne, *Letters on the Eloquence of the Pulpit*, London, 1765, quoted in James Downey, *The Eighteenth-Century Pulpit*, Oxford, 1969, p.9.

[78] *The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. Norma Dalrymple-Champneys and Arthur Pollard, 3 vols, Oxford, 1988, vol.I, p.127. The quotation is from the first version of the poem, published in 1781.

Young's Night Thoughts, and divers other poems, in sermons?"[79] Henry Mackenzie recalls the moderate minister Dr Wallace discussing Gray's *Elegy* in a sermon.[80]

Making the Church hospitable and even grateful to literature of this sort was a part of the larger moderate programme, as Richard Sher has shown.[81] However, I am interested here not directly in the changing attitudes to literature, but rather in the effect which this literary culture had within the sermon. John Witherspoon provides the "orthodox" (i.e. anti-moderate) interpretation of what was happening: the two cultures, scriptural and literary, were "quite heterogeneous", and, since such heterogeneity was "against all the rules of fine writing", the literary taste was driving Scripture out of the sermon.[82] Doubtless the "rules of fine writing", which ministers would have encountered at university as the setting for their first close study of polite literature, did affect the composition of sermons all the more readily for this contagious presence of literary texts. But I suggest that there was a more significant heterogeneity involved. Such literary allusions pinned the sermon to printed sources in a way that the Bible did not. Walter Ong argues that the Bible, though written and finally printed, is in character an oral address: "The orality of the mindset in the Biblical text [...] is overwhelming."[83] But it was also distinct from other written texts in that much of it was known by heart, or was so familiar as to seem to belong to thought and speech rather than text. It has always been the habit of evangelical Christianity to use biblical phraseology freely in all discourse. The habit is parodied in Burns' 'Holy Willie's Prayer', a poem written, as James Kinsley says, "in the *language of the saints* – that improbable amalgam of Biblical English and colloquial Scots which was characteristic of the

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[79] *Ecclesiastical Characteristics*, pp.18-19.
[80] *Account of the Life and Writings of John Home*, Bristol, 1997 (1822), p.17.
[81] Especially in his discussion of the *Douglas* controversy (*Church and University*, pp.74-86).
[82] *Ecclesiastical Characteristics*, 1754, p.19.
[83] *Orality and Literacy*, p.75.

Covenanter and the Presbyterian evangelical".[84] This was indeed Thomas Halyburton's language: "forgive a Christian this Practice, who loves to talk in the Language of his God", says Isaac Watts, introducing the *Memoirs*, and recognising that they will not appeal to those who only admire "what is polite and modish".[85] It was accordingly typical in the traditional Presbyterian sermon for the minister to weave the talk in and out of the Bible's language in such a way as to make the distinction between text and the minister's own speech far from absolute. And, as I have shown above, there was, theologically, no categorical distinction anyway. However, any purely literary allusion and quotation in the new sermon (and of course Witherspoon, in his satire, exaggerates its frequency) necessarily broke even the fiction of extemporary speech. The preacher became for that moment visibly obedient to a printed culture. He became a man dealing with texts. Only in such a character could the preacher think of the Bible as Hugh Blair speaks of it in the one lecture which he gave on the eloquence of the pulpit: "The language of Sacred Scripture, properly employed, is a great ornament to sermons."[86] We may contrast this view with Thomas Halyburton's notion of Scripture's place in the sermon: "tho' God may make Use of the Words of Man in letting into the Meaning of it, yet 'tis the very Scripture Word, whereby he ordinarily conveys the Comfort or Advantage of whatever Sort."[87]

A further and more obvious influx of literary values into the Presbyterian sermon occurred when that sermon itself became a print category. This was not, of course, a sudden event: sermons were being published throughout the century, especially polemical sermons, or annuals like those delivered to the General Assembly or the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (S.S.P.C.K.). But there was a great increase, during the period of the

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[84] *Poems and Songs*, vol.III, p.1048.
[85] Quotation from 'The Recommendation' in *Memoirs* , pp.viii and xi.
[86] Lecture 29 in *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, 3 vols, London, 1785 (1783), vol.II, p.318.
[87] *Memoirs*, p.142.

moderate party's dominance over the Church, in the habit of publication of what one might call (without intending the particular Scottish sense) ordinary sermons. The address to the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale in which Carlyle urged ministers to pursue literature was itself printed in 1767. It was reprinted a few years later in the second volume of a series whose appearance emphatically signalled the development which I am describing: the series called *The Scotch Preacher*. This series had started publication, in Edinburgh, in 1775. Its second volume appeared in 1777, the year also of another important event in the relations of the Scottish pulpit and print: the publication of Hugh Blair's first volume of sermons. In its second and third editions, of 1789 and 1792, *The Scotch Preacher* comprised four volumes. St Andrews University began purchasing the series in the first year of its publication. This purchase, and that of the second volume in 1778, seem to have been made not by the theology professors at St Mary's, but by the professors of Greek, Moral Philosophy, History, and Rhetoric at the United College. If that was in fact so, it succinctly evidences that migration of the sermon into general literature which I have been writing about.[88]

There was no mistaking the new paradigm of the sermon, and *The Scotch Preacher* expressly advertised the values which informed that paradigm. Its volumes were intended to provide for students and probationers "a variety of the most approved models, for forming and training them to the composition of sermons". For ministers labouring in "obscure corners of the country" it offered a way into "public notice and regard" as "Authors".[89] They were

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[88] The purchasing of books for the Library by annual committees (called "classes") of professors is something which I discuss in Chapter IV. It may possibly have been disused by 1778 but was certainly still in use in 1774 (see Senatus minute for March 14th of that year: *Library Bulletin*, vol.II, p.378). For these two purchases, see Reports of the Library Curators from 1738-88, St Andrews University Library MS LY107/4, pp.100 and 119. The 1796 Alphabetical Catalogue lists two four-volume sets (St Andrews University Library MS LY105/13, pp.232-33).

[89] Hugh Blair, analysing a sermon by Bishop Atterbury in his Lecture no. 30, likewise refers to Atterbury as "our Author" (*Lectures*, vol.II, p.367).

invited to send in manuscripts for future selections. What was "approved" about the "models", and what would qualify manuscripts from those "obscure corners" for the publicity of print, was made plain in a terminology which belonged to university Rhetoric, more largely to "polite literature" – not, certainly, to the liturgy. The editors would refer incoming manuscripts to clerical readers of "approved knowledge and taste". Sermon-writers would be showing their "genius". Most significant of all, their sermons were to strive for "that state of correctness which would render them fit for publication".[90] They were, in short, to sound or read like print.

This same incorporation of literary values affected the liturgical prayer during the same period. An account of this change which Samuel Johnson gives in his *Journey to the Western Islands* reminds us of the older notion of "sacramental" prayer, which I have spoken of already, and records with approval the absorption of prayer into the larger scheme of written composition:

> The principle upon which extemporary prayer was originally introduced is no longer admitted. The minister formerly, in the effusion of his prayer, expected immediate, and perhaps perceptible, inspiration, and therefore thought it his duty not to think before what he should say. It is now universally confessed that men pray as they speak on other occasions, according to the general measure of their abilities and attainments. Whatever each may think of a form prescribed by another, he cannot but believe that he can himself compose by study and meditation a better prayer than will rise in his mind at a sudden call; and if he has any hope of supernatural help, why may he not as well receive it when he writes as when he speaks?[91]

Here, Johnson considers all three forms of discourse – speech,

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[90] Quotations from the 'Advertisement' to *The Scotch Preacher*, vol.I, pp.v-ix.
[91] Johnson, *Journey*, p.87.

writing, and print – and regards prayer as conforming to those conditions governing whichever of the three media it appears in. In the case of print, therefore, what he allows for by way of conscientious objection is not the theological distrust of "human imposition" (the phrase recorded in *An Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*), but the ordinary differences of critical opinion affecting what "each may think of a form prescribed by another". Having acknowledged variety of "abilities and attainments" among men, and the concept of the "better" prayer, he has implicitly proposed that prayer, too, may be brought to its best condition in the public and competitive medium of print.

Such a proposition was indeed being accepted and acted upon in Scotland in subsequent years. I will illustrate it from a collection of prayers published in 1802: *The Scotch Minister's Assistant*.[92] According to the 'Advertisement' to this work, "It has often been complained of as a considerable disadvantage, that there are no Forms prescribed by the Church of Scotland for celebrating Marriage, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. Every Clergyman is left to exercise his own talents upon such occasions." *The Scotch Minister's Assistant* therefore supplied a selection of set prayers. When the author of these prayers acknowledges that there will be "those who are able to compose much better ones for themselves" (compare this word "compose", also of course used by Johnson, with the traditional Presbyterian term for extemporising prayer, "conceive"),[93] it is not in order to wish them well in their own local devices, but rather in the expectation of seeing "a more perfect work soon published".[94] Prayer, like the sermon, was to be perfected in print.

St Andrews University bought six copies of *The Scotch Minister's*

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[92] This work is attributed by Halkett and Laing to Harry Robertson, minister at Kiltearn: see *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature*, ed. James Kennedy et al., 9 vols, London, 1926-62, vol V, 1929, p.184.

[93] e.g. in *The Directory for Family Worship* (1647) article IX, reprinted in *Confessions of Faith and Books of Discipline of the Church of Scotland*, London, 1831, pp.147-53 (p.150).

[94] Harry Robertson, *The Scotch Minister's Assistant*, Inverness, 1802. Quotations are from the 'Advertisement'.

Assistant in its year of publication.[95] It was evidently to be used as a course text; presumably it provided models for the prayers which the St Mary's students themselves had to compose for use in their twice-daily "Prayer Halls". There is some discussion of these Prayer Halls in the evidence given to the 1827 Commissioners, whence it is clear that by then most professors did not think well of them.[96] The evening Hall had indeed been recently discontinued: the reason given in the evidence is that bringing students out from their lodgings at night invited disorder, but it also appears that the disenchantment and consequent absence of the professors was what made the Halls themselves disorderly. The fact that the only professor favouring their revival was Thomas Chalmers might suggest that these sessions had an evangelical character, but it is unlikely that they were or had ever been exercises in absolutely extemporary praying. James Hall remembers them from the 1760s and 70s as occasions where "the students, in their turns, prayed; that is, did not read any form, but uttered premeditated prayers in the Presbyterian fashion".[97] How much the Prayer Halls had changed in character by the 1820s is not clearly evidenced, although it is stated that the prayers were still not read aloud but recited from memory. Principal Haldane agreed with the Commissioners' suggestion that such exercises would have as their proper objective to give students "a greater command of devotional language", although he did not find that the Prayer Halls achieved it. We may at least deduce that it was in such texts as *The Scotch Minister's Assistant*, rather than from any older tradition of prayer, that the students were now expected to seek for models of that language.

Once composition and delivery were separated, of course, a minister was effectively reading the service aloud, even if he himself had done the composing. If he used his *Scotch Minister's*

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[95] The University order is recorded in the Senatus minute for January 9th, 1802 (*Library Bulletin*, vol.III, p.18).

[96] *Evidence*, vol.III, 1837. Evidence of Dr Chalmers, Principal Haldane, and Dr Mitchell (the Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism) on pp.81-82, 97, and 109.

[97] *Travels in Scotland*, vol.I, p.118.

Assistant, he was reading aloud another man's compositions. The mass-production technique of printing made possible and indeed implied a very unequal distribution of composing and reading labour. It was an inequality with which nature itself seemed to have conspired, if a minister really was a man reliant upon "his own talents" and not on inspiration, for many more could read adequately than could successfully "compose" (at least by *The Scotch Preacher*'s standards of success). This situation, long familiar in the Church of England, had been celebrated near the beginning of the century by Joseph Addison in his *Spectator* paper number 106, one of the papers featuring Sir Roger de Coverley, and certainly familiar to Scottish ministers and academics, for whom *The Spectator* was a canonical text (familiar indeed to most Scotsmen who read).[98] Here we have, in the frank exploitation of printed religion, the antithesis to the pulpit "dialect" of Steele's Andrew Cant. The parson whom Sir Roger has appointed to the church of which he is the patron never preaches in the old Presbyterian sense at all: "At his first settling with me", Sir Roger tells his friend Mr Spectator, "I made him a present of all the good sermons which have been printed in English, and only begged of him that every Sunday he would pronounce one of them in the pulpit." The scene continues:

> As Sir Roger was going on in his story, the gentleman we were talking of came up to us; and upon the knight's asking him who preached to-morrow (for it was Saturday night), told us, the Bishop of St Asaph in the morning, and Dr South in the afternoon. He then showed us his list of preachers for the whole year, where I saw with a great deal of pleasure, Archbishop Tillotson, Bishop Saunderson, Doctor Barrow, Doctor Calamy, with several living authors who have published discourses of practical divinity.

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[98] Blair himself, introducing his four lectures (nos 20-23) on *The Spectator*, called it "a book which is in the hands of everyone": *Lectures*, vol.II, p.59.

Addison, as Mr Spectator, "saw this venerable man in the pulpit" on the following day, and "was so charmed with the gracefulness of his figure and delivery, as well as the discourses he pronounced, that I think I never passed any time more to my satisfaction. A sermon repeated after this manner, is like the composition of a poet in the mouth of a graceful actor." His conclusion is as follows:

> I could heartily wish that more of our country clergy would follow this example, and instead of wasting their spirits in laborious compositions of their own, would endeavour after a handsome elocution, and all those other talents that are proper to enforce what has been penned by greater masters. This would not only be more easy to themselves, but more edifying to the people.[99]

Even when the preacher is responsible for his own sermon, then, a strict division is made between its making ("laborious compositions") and its delivery (just as the prayers in *The Scotch Minister's Assistant* "were originally composed by the Author for his own use"). The model in Mr Spectator's mind is of a collaboration between composer and performer, and even in the case of the "greater masters" there is no implication that the two talents will be encompassed by the one man: the mastery of the "greater masters" consists only in having "penned" the greater sermons. Needless to say, the prayers in Sir Roger's church are likewise textual: he has given each of his parishioners a copy of the Book of Common Prayer. Without printing, this taste in preaching and praying would have been incapable of general gratification. We note, of course, that the taste is the patron's, who has chosen, in his parson, a man conformable to that taste. In England, as in Scotland, the way the Church – and in particular the parish – was governed also conditioned its liturgical style.

Sir Roger's ingenuousness, here as in the other papers about him, is comically extreme, but there was nothing fantastic about his system: clergymen in the Church of England did indeed preach

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[99] *The Spectator*, no. 106, July 2nd, 1711 (ed. Aitken, vol.II, pp.119-22).

from other men's texts (Johnson, for instance, wrote sermons for others to deliver). Discussions in Scotland on the subject of reading sermons aloud often alluded to the practice as an English one – and an undesirable one. Hugh Blair himself strongly deprecates it as "one of the greatest obstacles to the eloquence of the pulpit in Great Britain, where alone it prevails".[100] But his objection is expressly to the elocutionary effect. His advice is to memorise sermons, using notes if necessary to prompt the memory. He is not concerned about the division between composition and delivery as such (we remember that Watson remarked on the labour which Blair would invest in such composition). Moreover, Mr Spectator's approval of this reading-aloud of sermons is not a self-sufficient taste. It is evidently associated with a point of view with which he opens the next paper about Sir Roger, a point of view presented without ironic qualification: namely, that "if [i.e. even if] keeping holy the seventh day were only a human institution, it would be the best method that could have been thought of for the polishing and civilising of mankind".[101] This point of view became characteristic of the moderate party in the Church of Scotland, and was indeed promulgated in the early days of that party's ascendancy by two of its leading figures, Hugh Blair and William Robertson, in sermons to the S.S.P.C.K.[102] Religion, Blair said, "civilizes Mankind"; "Christianity", Robertson said, "not only sanctifies our souls, but refines our manners."[103] Both Robertson and Mr Spectator use variants of the term 'barbarian' in putting the negative to their case, no doubt well aware that, etymologically, the word summarises all savagery in the failure to speak the language of high culture: its opposite is to be found in Sir Roger's comfortable phrase "printed in English", and in the attachment to that phrase

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[100] *Lectures*, vol.II, p.321. The same national point about the "new-fangled mode" is made in *The Weekly Magazine*, vol.XXI, p.69 (July 15th, 1773).

[101] *The Spectator*, no.112, July 9th, 1711 (ed. Aitken, vol.II, pp.145).

[102] The S.S.P.C.K. had itself developed from the Edinburgh Society for the Reformation of Manners: see Cameron, ed., *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, p.761.

[103] From sermons given in 1750 and 1755 respectively, quoted in Sher, *Church and University*, p.63.

of a very large part of the hopes for religious civilisation.[104] If Addison's papers about Sir Roger's churchmanship constitute a mild send-up of polite, print-based Christianity, they also illustrate and endorse its logic, a logic which Blair and his fellow moderates in the Church of Scotland wholly accepted in practice, if not with Sir Roger's unworldly candour.

A remarkable example of that practice is remembered by James Hall in the case of George Hill, the Professor of Greek at St Andrews from 1772, Principal of St Mary's from 1791, and successor to William Robertson as leader of the moderate party in the later years of the eighteenth century. According to Hall (an unsympathetic commentator on the St Andrews establishment under the chancellorship of Henry Dundas, when the Hill family was dominant there), George Hill composed a pro-government sermon which he decided to publish. "He printed an immense impression; and represented to Mr Dundas the good and great effects that might reasonably be expected from a general dissemination of his sermon over the whole kingdom." Public money was used to fund the printing of the sermon and its subsequent distribution to "ministers of parishes, and sheriffs of counties". Hall ironically acknowledges the affair as a triumph of the printed ministry: "All the London artifices of authorship and book-making are nothing to this!"[105]

Presumably George Hill expected his sermon to receive public readings of some kind, in churches or elsewhere. My discussion of the reform of the liturgy as a printed communication has indeed been concerned mainly with its public utterance, but of course the private composition of sermon and prayer had – by virtue of print – its proper counterpart in the private reading of them. That is really what is implied in the title *The Scotch Preacher*. We must either take it as introducing a survey of the Scottish contribution to

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[104] Sher, *Church and University*, p.63; *The Spectator*, nos 112 and 106 (ed. Aitken, vol.II, pp.145 and 120).
[105] *Travels in Scotland*, vol.I, p.107.

preaching, in which case the book is certainly for studious or at least general-interest reading; or we may take it to be offering itself as a substitute preacher, and therefore to be siting the whole pulpit-pew relation in the private reader's chair (whereas, say, 'Scotch Sermons' would be substituting only the text, and so would leave room at least for Sir Roger's "graceful actor" in a real pulpit). *The Scotch Minister's Assistant*, although its title seems to confine its print-reform to the clerical side, does in fact envisage (in reverse order) just those two possibilities of consumption which I have mentioned: its 'Advertisement' offers the suceeding prayers as "calculated to assist the devotion of the well-disposed reader, and likewise to gratify the curiosity of those of a different communion, who may be desirous to know the religious forms of our church". That phrase "gratify the curiosity" takes us firmly into the polite library-culture which I sketched in my previous chapter.

Making the Church literate, in the sense which I have been demonstrating, also made it readable. It is not a coincidence that reading became, at the height of the moderate ascendancy in the Church, an academic object. The highest-placed of the ministers in his time, Hugh Blair, not only published five volumes of sermons with extraordinary success, but also, in his lectures on Rhetoric, deliberately extended that subject, as traditionally taught, to a pupillage of readers:

> [The] same instructions which assist others in composing, will assist them in discerning, and relishing, the beauties of composition. Whatever enables genius to execute well, will enable taste to criticise justly.[106]

Robert Watson at St Andrews had made the same extension – probably indeed was Blair's example in this respect. We have already noticed Watson extending the subject from "publick Orations" to "all the differents kinds of Discourse". He further extended it to include schooled reading – i.e. "Discernment of the good and bad Qualities of Discourse" – concluding that "To what

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[106] *Lectures*, vol.I, p.10.

follows [i.e. his own course of lectures] you may give the Name of Rhetorick, or Criticisms as you please". He thus prepared the way for just that traffic between pulpit, print, and private reading which tended to tame a popular, provincial, oral church, and make it into a polite, Anglicised, literate one.[107]

In this chapter, I have shown how, within the universities and their sphere of control, educational values – in particular the values associated with polite, intellectual culture and its servicing by the printed book – were applied to the reform of the Church. The national religion was remade on the pattern of a learned, literary pursuit, producing and consuming books. If I have seemed to imply that some spirituality was lost in this remaking, there was at any rate no loss of moral earnestness. Perhaps the very placing of religion so emphatically in the realm of print did in turn affect concepts of the book and of its powers, and help to direct that earnestness, in its hopes and fears, towards printed solutions. That re-direction will be the theme of my next chapter.

[107] 'A Treatise on Rhetorick', fols.1v and 2r. The phrase appears as "Rhetoric or Criticism [sing.]" in the lecture notes of 1762 ('Rhetoric Display'd', St Andrews University Library MS PN173.W2) and 1778 ('Compend of Rhetoric', MS BC6.W2).

Chapter III: Moral education: from the tutor to the book

The bringing of the Church into the library, there to become one "province" among others, made possible that easy traffic between styles of discourse – literary, philosophical, Christian – which I have instanced in the previous chapter. It was a traffic which the more evangelical churchmen deplored as in effect a progressive translation of properly spiritual concerns into their secular equivalents or debasements, and such men were particularly dismayed by its operation in moral discourse. John Witherspoon, for instance, deplored the "verbal alterations" whereby "we everywhere put virtue for holiness, honour or even moral sense for conscience, improvement of the heart for sanctification".[1] We may note that Witherspoon locates the revision of morality in writing (he says "put", not "say"): he testifies to that entropy of literary discourses which I have been speaking about. His terms suggest (what we have noticed in the previous chapter) that he recognised in particular the entry into Christian discourse of values from classical literature, academic moral philosophy, and sentimental fictions – and, among these last, notably drama, for he was writing here in reproof of the new Scotch enthusiasm for theatre, consequent upon the success of John Home's *Douglas*.

Witherspoon's opponents in the *Douglas* controversy – moderate ministers and academics – were arguing that the stage, with such plays as *Douglas* on it, could be a school of virtue, and it is this claim that Witherspoon answers.[2] But their argument was part of a larger investment of moral authority in literature, for they trusted not just that new secular moral insights would be printed alongside those of the Church, but also that the effective training of impressionable minds in these moral matters, especially the minds

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[1] *A Serious Inquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Stage* (1757), in *Works*, vol.VI, p.44.

[2] I discuss the *Douglas* affair, and especially the use of it made by the moderates, in Chapter IV.

of the young, could be done with books. The mentor was to join the minister in print. The circumstances and the rationale of this development in moral education are the subject of this chapter.

No doubt the liberalisation of the Church did entail in some respects a mere relaxation of morality. If we compare the urgent evangelical tones of Thomas Halyburton with the suave piety of Hugh Blair, we are drawn to think so. *The Motives which have determined the University of Glasgow to desert the Blackfriars Church and betake themselves to a Chapel*, a pamphlet of 1764 written by William Thom, identified this inclination to relax as one of the eponymous "motives". It shows a genteel professoriate anxious to escape a kirk-session whose discipline treated them "like weavers", and to cultivate instead "a general, and philosophical religion" whose moral appeal would be expressed in "discourses upon the dignity of human nature, upon disinterested benevolence, upon sympathy and propriety, upon living according to nature, and upon virtue's being a sufficient reward to itself". This "philosophical religion" would permit them to "take a little liberty like gentlemen".[3] Meanwhile, the co-operation of the students would be ensured by the presence in the Chapel of the Oeconomicus, the university officer in charge of their board and lodging: a material rather than moral discipline, then.

The derivation of this new morality from academic Moral Philosophy is well hit off in Thom's satire, as is the class-consciousness of the moderate party (we have noticed that characteristic in the previous chapter), but the suggestion of moral indolence in the universities is less just. On the contrary, there was in Scotland's universities at this time (and beyond them) a new interest in the period of youth as a distinct phase of life with its own moral economy, as John Dwyer has shown in his book *Virtuous Discourse*.[4] It is true that the rise of moderatism had

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[3] William Thom, *The Motives which have determined the University of Glasgow to desert the Blackfriars Church and betake themselves to a Chapel*, Glasgow, 1764, pp.14 and 17.

[4] "In the late eighteenth century, the significance and sensitivity of youth became

allowed a more optimistic concept of man's early years to gain currency. For the orthodox Presbyterian (and for all evangelical Christians), natal sinfulness was the primary fact, and what Halyburton called "those sins that cleave to Children in their Infancy" were regarded as a teacher's immediate concern: as John Wesley said, the "bias of nature is set the wrong way; education is designed to set it right".[5] That thinking was giving way to the philosophy which Jean-Jacques Rousseau was dramatising in his *Emile*, and which he summarised in the statement "There is no perversity in the human heart."[6] This was a book much read in Scotland. Its influence is very obvious in the Scottish writing on education which came after it: for instance, in George Chapman's *Treatise on Education* and Lord Kames's *Loose Hints on Education*, and also in Robert Watson's thinking about the young mind, as we shall see later in this chapter.[7] Chapman in particular makes "uncorrupted" a key word in his philosophy, teachers of children having to do with "the first and most uncorrupted season of life".[8] But that word is a reminder that such a philosophy, less pessimistic on the face of it than the evangelical Christian's, has its own alarming implications. To his statement about the human heart quoted above, Rousseau made this addition: "There is not a single

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the subject of intense and persistent debate among the Scottish moralists": *Virtuous Discourse: sensibility and community in late eighteenth-century Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1987, p.74 (more generally, see Dwyer's third chapter, 'The Construction of Adolescence in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', pp.72-94).

[5] Halyburton, *Memoirs*, p.8; John Wesley, *Works*, vol.X, p.152, quoted in Alan Richardson, *Literature, Education, and Romanticism: Reading as Social Practice*, Cambridge, 1994, p.14.

[6] Jean-Jaques Rousseau, *Emile, or, on Education*, trans. Allan Bloom, London, 1991 (*Émile: ou, de l'éducation*, Paris, 1760), p.92. I do not mean to suggest that Rousseau was the founder or sole advertiser of this line of thought: it derives more obviously from the philosophy of John Locke, and it was an assumption made by most Enlightenment writers. On this point, see James A. Leith, 'Unity and diversity in education during the eighteenth century', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, vol.CLXVII, Oxford, 1977, pp.13-27 (especially pp.14-15).

[7] George Chapman, *A Treatise on Education*, London, 4th edition 1790 (1773); Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Loose Hints on Education*, London, 1781. It was Robert Watson's "class" which, in 1768-69, acquired the English *Emile* of 1763 (Curators' Reports, p.73).

[8] *A Treatise on Education*, p.2.

vice to be found in it of which it cannot be said how and whence it entered."[9] The Christian teacher had only the child's own defects to confront: the teacher who read and approved *Emile* had also to confront the child's moral environment, the whole of society.

The Scottish universities could not suppose that this moral work, whatever it might entail, had already been done for the student when he first came to them. Throughout our period, matriculating students were boys more commonly than youths. Thomas Somerville, remembering this immaturity at Edinburgh in the 1750s, does use the word "boys"; at the end of the century, Michael Russel complained, in his *View of the System of Education at present pursued in the Schools and Universities of Scotland*, of "the debasement of our colleges by a flock of children from the nursery".[10] To give some examples from Edinburgh: Somerville himself was fourteen when he matriculated, Alexander Carlyle was thirteen, Henry Mackenzie was eleven. At St Andrews, the nephew of George Dempster was expected to matriculate at thirteen (in fact he died before that time); Thomas Chalmers matriculated at the age of eleven.[11] We must in some respects think of these institutions as schools rather than universities, and, of the five, that is particularly true of St Andrews, which was often regarded (as I have noticed in Chapter I) as a preparatory establishment for Edinburgh University. Accordingly, a discussion of St Andrews University in Russel's book blames its low student numbers on the rivalry equally of other universities and of the nearby academies.[12] Here particularly, then, students were commonly arriving well on the immature side of that critical age of fifteen at which Rousseau's Emile becomes due for socialisation, when "he begins to sense his moral being" and when "our care", hitherto only "a child's game", for the first

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[9] *Emile*, p.92.
[10] Somerville, *My Own Life and Times, 1741-1814*, p.15; Russel, Edinburgh, 1813, p.66.
[11] *Letters of George Dempster to Sir Adam Fergusson, 1756-1813*, p. 242. The paper in which Dempster plans his nephew's education is dated October 16th, 1793.
[12] *View of the System of Education*, Appendix III, pp.xv-xliii.

time "takes on true importance".[13]

The universities were, besides, frequently considered as themselves settings for the adventitious corruption of youth. In David Fordyce's *Dialogues concerning Education*, the worldly parent Urbanus prefers, for his son, a university education to the utopian Academy depicted in the book.[14] It is specifically the unpliable ethics of the Academy which the ominously-named Urbanus dislikes. In his preference, therefore, two commonplaces of corruption, the city and the university, combine. True, the common suspicion of universities was principally directed towards the English rather than the Scottish ones. Sometimes indeed a contrast was made between the two: "Oxford and Cambridge, in England, are the seats of dissipation, while the more numerous and less crowded universities and colleges in Scotland are remarkable for the order, diligence, and decent behaviour of their students."[15] Within Scotland, St Andrews University exploited this suspicion of the collegiate environment to make a point in its own favour:

> tho' the University of St Andrews cannot boast of so great a number of students as some of the other Scotch Universities, it possesses some advantages which they have not. The City of St Andrews [...] is situated in a retired corner, on the sea coast, and not populous; and being equally free from the dissipations of the capital, and the corruptions of the great commercial towns, is, on these accounts, particularly favourable for the purposes of education.[16]

However, it is doubtful if this claim really convinced either party, professors or parents, because the tendency at St Andrews, as at

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[13] *Emile*, pp.212 and 214.

[14] 2 vols, London, 1745, vol.II, p.7.

[15] Benjamin Rush, 'A Plan for the Establishment of Public Schools and the Diffusion of Knowledge in Pennsylvania', *The Scots Magazine*, vol.XLVIII, 1786, pp.437-42. This article had been reprinted from *The Gentleman's Magazine*.

[16] The quotation is from the Memorial prepared by the University for submission to the Commons Committee on the Copyright Acts, 1813 (*Library Bulletin*, vol.VII, p.371).

other Scottish universities, had for a long time been (as we shall see later in the present chapter) towards the disuse of collegiate living and its associated pastoral disciplines. It was therefore possible for John Witherspoon, when he became Principal of the College of New Jersey, to make it a winning merit of his establishment, specifically in contradistinction to the Scottish universities, that its students did enjoy that pastoral discipline, in addition to the merely topographical security that St Andrews was able to advertise: "with us, they live in college, under the inspection of their masters; and the village is so small, that any irregularity is immediately and certainly discovered, and therefore easily corrected."[17]

Here, then, were students of immature and impressionable age, coming into the care of institutions conscious that they had no easily granted entitlement to exercise that care. And if it was true that these institutions were no longer subordinate to the Church, and no longer therefore committed agents of the puritanical morality of orthodox Presbyterianism, they did nevertheless feel obligations to a higher ideal than knowledge alone – did indeed largely promote that ideal. Something of that ideal we have seen them adopting and promoting in the previous chapters: its gentility, its sense of nation, its more world-approving and meliorist God. It was essentially, as one historian of the Scottish universities has argued, the ideal of the well-formed citizen, and one which consequently imposed upon the universities a public as well as a private responsibility.[18] They were consciously making a society out of these impressionable "boys".

There is some direct evidence from surviving lecture notes that professors at St Andrews were indeed conscious of these two

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[17] *Address to the Inhabitants of Jamaica, and other West-India Islands, in behalf of the College of New-Jersey*, in *Works*, vol.VIII, pp.308-30 (p.327). The address was originally delivered in 1772.

[18] See Peter Jones, 'The Polite Academy and the Presbyterians, 1720-70', in *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, ed. John Dwyer, Roger Mason, and Alexander Murdoch, Edinburgh, 1982, pp.156-78 (see especially p.176).

challenging preoccupations in later eighteenth-century educational thinking – the impressionability of youth, and education as the making of society – and were intent on responding to them. I shall show that evidence when I come to discuss their response. For now, I shall briefly mention only some circumstantial evidence, as it appears in two books treating this subject and confirming the message of *Emile*, books which the University Library bought and which evidently received more than ordinary attention there.

One such book was Henry Brooke's novel *The Fool of Quality*, published in five volumes between 1766 and 1771.[19] The Library's set was borrowed by Robert Watson on four occasions between 1773 and 1780, and student borrowings suggest that the work was discussed and perhaps recommended in classes: William Barron's pupils in 1783 were making it their most-borrowed fiction title, although there was a waning of interest in the later volumes which anyone who has tried to read the book will fully understand.[20] The "fool" of the book's title is Harry Merton, a boy whose simplicity of character is brought uncorrupted into manhood by the agency of the Rousseauist Mr Fenton. Fenton indeed acts on Harry's behalf very much as Rousseau does on Emile's: that is, he comprehensively supervises the boy's daily life. It is not only the ruses, spyings-out, and first- and second-hand reports involved in this supervision, for Fenton as for Rousseau, which suggest the precariousness of youthful incorruption: this precariousness is evidently such as to demand of the guardian exhaustive power and application. Rousseau accordingly says "the same man can only give one education", conceding indeed that such a man would even then have to be "more than a man"; Mr Fenton promises Harry's father that "it shall be the whole concern and employment of my life, to render and return him to you, in due time, the most accomplished and most perfect of all human

[19] I will be referring to this work in its third edition, 5 vols, London, 1777.

[20] For Watson's borrowing, see Library Receipt Book (Professors), 1773-1782, St Andrews University Library MS LY 206/1, pp.27, 32, 34, and 135. The student borrowing appears in Appendix II, especially under 'Students starting in 1782'.

beings".[21] That this is indeed more than parenthood which Mr Fenton has to take on is suggested in the relationship which is established between himself and Harry: the boy, "an inseparable friend and play fellow to his patron", also, we are told, "beheld his patron as his father and as his God".[22]

Now in fact Harry's real father is not a party to the arrangement at all; the promise mentioned above comes in a letter which he receives after his son has been abducted by Mr Fenton. Here we come to the second theme, then: the idea of education as the creating of a society. Mr Fenton has to make Harry artificially an orphan, thereby relieving him of what would otherwise be his moral heritage, in order to educate him (although it is characteristic of the thinking which I have been describing that the boy, naturally preferring the good, conspires in the liberation: "I'll have you for a father, if you please, Sir").[23] Just so had Rousseau said: "Emile is an orphan. It makes no difference whether he has his father and mother [i.e. whether they actually exist or not]."[24] We have heard the extravagent promise which Mr Fenton makes to Harry's bereaved parents that their boy will become the "most perfect of all human beings". He soon enlarges this to say that, were his educational methods generally followed, there would soon be "a new nation of infants, and consequently of men".[25]

In a second popular fiction of up-bringing, Fénelon's *Aventures de Télémaque*, that same progressivism was at least sufficiently obvious to have cost its author the good-will of King Louis XIV, for whose grandson it was written. This book, first published in 1699, became one of the most widely read and frequently re-worked texts of the eighteenth century. The St Andrews Library bought three copies of John Hawkesworth's translation in 1787, to add to its other editions of the work, suggesting that it was to be used as

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[21] *Emile*, pp.51 and 50; *The Fool of Quality*, vol.I, p.156.
[22] *The Fool of Quality*, vol.I, p.51.
[23] *The Fool of Quality*, vol.I, p.49.
[24] *Emile*, p.52.
[25] *The Fool of Quality*, vol.I, p.111.

something like a course reader.[26] It is true that, its hero being a young prince, the book often engages political subjects which have no educational bearings, and it was, besides, often cited as a model of elegant prose: it was not, then, exclusively being read as the story of an education, as *Emile* and *The Fool of Quality* (at least in its earlier volumes) were. However, its Telemachus was undoubtedly intended as a paradigm of youth under instruction. He sets out on his adventures "at an age which can form no judgement of the future, has gained no experience from the past, and knows not how to employ the present". He has, indeed, "a disposition to be instructed, and a love for virtue", but is nevertheless in practice nearly ruined by his "injurious extravagencies".[27] The society for which he is being trained is his guardian's ideal, a utopia, like those implied in the educations devised by Rousseau and Brooke, and Telemachus is being trained not just to help constitute it, but actually to govern it: even more than Emile's and Harry's, then, his own moral security demands a fantastically authoritative supervision. In this case, indeed, that supervision is literally super-human, for Telemachus's tutor, Mentor, is the disguised goddess Minerva.

Having shown the like-mindedness of these books in two leading preoccupations of enlightenment thought on education – the peculiar impressionability of youth, and the power of its proper education to re-create society – I wish to notice now a third point of agreement. In each case, the education enacted is personal not institutional, the work of one man. The word "tutor" might perhaps seem comically inadequate to the role which these three heroic doppelgangers undertake. Rousseau, who makes the deliberate employing of a tutor his speculative starting-point, has then to dismiss at least the mercenary element as wholly unsuited to the "sublime soul" of a qualified candidate, and in fact soon

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[26] Curators' Reports, p.162.

[27] François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, *The Adventures of Telemachus*, trans. John Hawkesworth, 2 vols, Edinburgh, 1778 (1768): quotations from vol.I, pp.21 and 41, and vol.II, p.62.

doubts whether such a man – "this rare mortal [...,] this marvel" – really exists at all.[28] And in Britain, certainly, there was no heroism about the private tutor as commonly encountered or type-cast. So far from showing the god-like arrogance of a Mr Fenton, such a man tended to have something of the servility of a family retainer, the "bassesse" which put Alexander Carlyle and his friends off that sort of work.[29] As a stereotype, he would be "some awkward creature, who is supposed to know about nothing but books", according to John Buddo's *Progress of Education and Manners*.[30] And the inward wretchedness of the post, in a household where the man was accordingly estimated, is feelingly itemised by William Cowper in his poem *Tirocinium; or, a Review of Schools*: the tutor's grudgingly tolerated presence at dinner (but he is expected to "vanish with the cloth"), the jokes at his expense, the coarse language which offends him.[31]

Yet both Cowper and Buddo, in these texts, are in fact recommending the private tutor, in Cowper's case as an alternative to both school and college. And Carlyle himself did have a private tutor even at University (shared with some other students). Private tutors did indeed commonly accompany the richer students through their university careers: so, for instance, did George Dempster expect his nephew to pass through St Andrews and Edinburgh. And it is when we read such projects as Dempster's, planned by parents, guardians, or educationists, that we re-encounter the high ambitions which Rousseau has for the tutor, and, proportionate to them, the exalted notion of what a closely attentive education could do and could prevent on the boy's behalf. Thus John Locke (probably the most powerful voice in eighteenth-century education) speaks of the necessary tutorial qualities as

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[28] *Emile*, pp.49-50.

[29] *Autobiography of Dr Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk*, ed. John Hill Burton, Bristol, 1990 (1860), p.70.

[30] This book was published in St Andrews in 1801, with several of the University's professors on its list of subscribers. The quotation is from p.139.

[31] See *The Poems of William Cowper*, ed. John D. Baird and Charles Ryskamp, 3 vols, Oxford, 1980-95, vol.II, 1995, pp.271-94 (line 730).

"hardly to be had for ordinary Salaries; nor easily to be found any where". John Buddo, having likewise specified the needed man, adds "But, it may be said, where is such a tutor to be found? Is he an imaginary character you have been describing?" and concedes that "It will be difficult to light on a young Fénelon, the Mentor of your Telemachus, in every article, except in age and experience". George Dempster specifies "the best private tutor to be found in Scotland", but even so does not assume that the man chosen will be good enough to justify the ideal full-length appointment.[32]

Here, then, were two antithetical imageries of the tutor: one which pictured him as the heroic custodian of youthful virtue, the other which pictured him as a servile outcrop of the schoolroom. In the second case, it was certainly the social position of the tutor as household employee which largely conditioned the imagery, inheriting as he also did the indignity associated with schoolmastering; in the first case, the imagery was conditioned by the glamour of what was to be achieved, the tutor being re-made to correspond, and accordingly relieved, as we have seen, of just the trappings of parental interference and school-room drudgery which tended to dishonour the real thing. That strain which we have noticed in the projects of Locke, Buddo, and Dempster, between the desiderated tutor and the predicted candidacy, is in fact the strain between these two competing imageries.

Now universities were not, of course, suppliers of tutors in this present sense: their students might or might not be privately supplied, as I have said. But the universities in Scotland, at least, did share the ideals which the fictitious tutors were devised to match, and they were expected, by themselves and by their society, to provide the means to realise those ideals. At the same time, it

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[32] John Locke, *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (1693), in *Educational Writings of John Locke*, ed. James Axtell, Cambridge, 1968, p.187; John Buddo, *The Progress of Education and Manners*, p.145; *Letters of George Dempster*, p.242. Locke's *Some Thoughts*, either under that title or as the principal matter in volume III of the *Works*, was being read at St Andrews throughout our period. Robert Watson borrowed it as a student in 1746 and as a professor in 1773: see L.R.B. (Students and Professors), 1737-48, MS LY205/1, p.105, and L.R.B. (Professors), 1773-82, MS LY206/1, pp.27 and 28 (two borrowings).

was a conscious policy of the Scottish universities during the eighteenth century to raise the social position of their professors, to rescue them from being, as William Thom writes, "looked upon as in a middle rank between parish ministers and country schoolmasters".[33] To leave farther behind them the low esteem of all-purpose pedagogy was therefore, as Thom's words suggest, exactly what the universities wanted and – in order to flourish as they did in Scotland in the later years of the century – needed. But although we may divide for convenience of discussion the tutorial model of education into the heroic and the ignoble, it was not so divisible in practice: to jettison the latter involved yielding altogether the ideal of the teacher as holistic mentor. Since that is what the Scottish universities did, as we shall see, they had to find another way to respond to what Dwyer calls "the significance and sensitivity of youth".[34] This doing and finding is what I shall soon describe, in particular as it happened at St Andrews, but I wish first to locate the tutorial model there by considering one man's experience of the work of a tutor in that place.

Andrew Bell had been a student at St Andrews University, matriculating in 1769. He had subsequently left Britain for Virginia, where his work had included tutoring, and when he returned to St Andrews in 1781 he brought his two American charges, Corbin and Carter Braxton, to continue their education at his old university and under his superintendance. It is evident from Bell's letters that he suffered some of the ordinary indignities of the real-life tutor, both financial and social. In a letter to his employer, Carter Braxton (senior), he complains that "the fees which I receive are altogether unequal to the office I have exercised [...] and are not any thing like the usual reward of mere boys who are employed as tutors".[35] But it also appears, from what Bell's biographer Robert Southey says, that

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[33] *Motives*, p.9.
[34] *Virtuous Discourse*, p.74.
[35] Quoted by Robert Southey in his *Life of the Rev. Andrew Bell*, 3 vols, London, 1844, vol.I, pp.62-63.

Bell's concept of the work was something like Rousseau's.[36] To his pupils he was, says Southey, "at once their tutor and their fellow student [...,] their companion and their friend" ("I would want him", says Rousseau of the tutor, "to be a child himself if possible, to be able to become his pupil's companion and attract his confidence by sharing his enjoyments").[37] And in another letter to Braxton – qualifying with characteristic self-assurance Rousseau's "Is this rare mortal not to be found? I do not know" – Bell himself wrote "I ask is there the man on earth, myself excepted, that was fitted to do what I have done?"[38] It is no surprise to find in the Library Receipt Books that, as a student, Bell had borrowed both *Emile* and all five volumes of *The Fool of Quality*.[39]

By contrast, when Bell speaks to Braxton about the University, he gives it a distant, impersonal character, and one defined by its limits:

> All a college can do, (and it is a great deal,) is to give a habit of attention, to enlarge the ideas, to exalt the mind, to call forth the exertions, and to discover the genius of a young man. Your sons are now capable of reading or studying in any line, and a college can do no more.[40]

There is nothing unfavourable intended in Bell's observations here, but he considers the really great possibilities in education to be available only within the immediate tutorial relationship. His claim for the two boys in that context is accordingly far more ambitious: "I will not dissemble the pride I take in having the

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[36] Some allowance has to be made here for Southey's partisanship as a convinced supporter of Bell's system of education, which had become involved in a publicly-debated rivalry with the similar system of Joseph Lancaster.

[37] *Life of Bell*, vol.I, p.60; *Emile*, p.51. It is interesting in this connection that when James Hall speaks of the students who came with tutors to St Andrews, he seems to regard the arrangement as an alternative to the arrival of the whole family: see *Travels in Scotland*, pp.108-109.

[38] *Emile*, p.50; *Life of Bell*, vol.I, p.67. Bell then specifies his American background as that which made him uniquely suitable, so the claim is not as vainglorious as it first appears. The Rousseauist point about it remains: that a youth's education ought to be attentively and untransferably personal ("the same man can only give one education" – *Emile*, p.51).

[39] L.R.B. (Students), 1768-72, MS LY207/1, pp.6-7 (April-November, 1771).

[40] *Life of Bell*, vol.I, p.66.

extreme felicity to have effected with them what, perhaps, was never effected with two brothers."[41] The last words here are slightly puzzling: does Bell mean that the fraternal relationship might have been expected to cross and foul the tutorial one, or simply that he has doubled the ordinarily possible accomplishment of the tutor? At least the general character of the achievement which he claims here is unambiguous. It is personal and social, the outcome of purposeful relationships.

It is this part of Bell's experience at St Andrews, rather than his own student days or the college classes of the Braxton boys (Bell attended these with them, according to Southey), that we may trace forward into the educational pioneering of Bell's time in India. The "Madras System" which Bell devised there for the Madras Male Orphan Asylum was perhaps more a matter of mere institutional engineering – making a poorly endowed and over-crowded school work well – than was admitted by Bell or recognised by his disciples and proselytisers in later years. But the formula which Bell brought to bear in his reforms at Madras was essentially the one which he had been using at St Andrews, the tutorial formula, and it carried with it in his mind still the gigantic ambitions which Rousseau and his followers had invested in it. The point is well stated in a later biography of Bell, written by John Meiklejohn, the first Professor of Education at St Andrews: "Mutual tuition – this was his 'discovery' – this was to regenerate the world."[42]

The "Madras System" was indeed widely accepted as having revolutionary promise for education. Meiklejohn quotes a writer in *The Edinburgh Review* of 1811 saying, about the very similar scheme of Joseph Lancaster, "Printing is not more capable of being applied to diffuse all truth and knowledge than the beautiful discovery of Mr Lancaster." In his own much more measured assessment of these systems, Meiklejohn identifies the elementary

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[41] *Life of Bell*, vol.I, p.66.
[42] J.M.D.Meiklejohn, *An Old Educational Reformer: Dr Andrew Bell*, Edinburgh, 1881, p.124.

and valuable idea which, he believes, was re-stated (not invented) in them: "Learning is a social act; it is best carried on under social conditions."[43] If, then, the pupil-teacher machinery was capable of multiplying instruction as printing multiplied texts, there was this essential distinction between the two, that, in the former, the social medium of communication was nowhere broken. It was that social medium which Bell had known and appreciated in his work at St Andrews (work which was nearly the reverse of labour-efficient). But it was not, we infer from what he wrote, the medium he expected the University to work in. Already when he had been a student, the University had indeed chosen the alternative medium of print in which to project its education, and chosen it in contradistinction to the tutorial model.

The reform which did most to signal and effect the abandonment of the tutorial model of education in the Scottish universities was the replacement of the regent with the specialist professor. There had always been some "fixed" professorships, even in the Arts courses, but the majority of the teaching had been done by non-specialist regents, effectively form-masters, each of whom carried his form not just through most subjects but through most or all the four years of their sojourn. In the course of the eighteenth century, all the Scottish universities gave up this system completely, Edinburgh doing so first in 1708, and King's College, Aberdeen, last in 1799.[44] At St Andrews the change was completed in 1747, at the same time as the consolidating of the two Arts colleges into the United College, this second reform tending to reinforce the effects of the first, as we shall discover.

The regents had in fact been much more than teachers. Here is one historian's summary of their office:

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[43] *An Old Educational Reformer*, pp.135 (the *Review* quotation) and 127.

[44] The postponement at Aberdeen is explained, according to a historian of the University, by Thomas Reid's high estimate of regenting as a moral force: see John Malcolm Bulloch, *A History of the University of Aberdeen, 1495-1895*, London, 1895, p.151.

> Regents supervised the residence halls, handled the students' funds, and in other ways assumed some of the responsibilities of parents for their often very young charges. They catechized their pupils, went to church with them, quizzed them on the sermons they heard, tutored them, and saw to it that their homework was done. They were also responsible for their boys' moral behaviour.[45]

Theirs had been the sort of personal, holistic pedagogy, engrossing during the times of its authority the whole business of up-bringing, whose ideal pattern we have seen in *Emile*. Of course each regent had not one but many pupils to supervise; however, as Charles Camic has said, this supervision was of "one cohort, morning, noon, and night, for several years", so that the student's "prospect of being personally cared for by the master was, in fact, continually realized". In his extended (and unfavourable) discussion of the regenting system, Camic concludes "regenting meant tutelage".[46]

As the change from regenting to fixed professorships went forward, the re-direction of each teacher's academic attention from one class of students to one subject made possible a devotion to research which produced celebrated results. By the end of the century, the Scottish universities had the character, in English minds at least, of research institutes rather than seminaries.[47] In so far as this was a just character, it no doubt largely explains the eminence of those universities during the period. But for students the change was problematic. True, they were able to attend lectures and classes given by men who were leaders in their subjects, but the memoirs which some students subsequently wrote sometimes

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[45] Roger L. Emerson, 'Scottish universities in the eighteenth century, 1690-1800', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, vol.CLXVII, Oxford, 1977, pp.453-74 (p.459).

[46] *Experience and Enlightenment: socialization for cultural change in eighteenth-century Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1983. Camic discusses the change from regenting to professoriates in Chapter VI. The quotations are from pp.177-78 and 170.

[47] C.J.Wright, 'Academics and their Aims: English and Scottish approaches to university education in the nineteenth century', *History of Education*, vol.VIII, no.2, 1979, pp.91-97.

suggest that their attendance was rather as spectators than as profiting pupils. Thomas Somerville, for instance, remembers his maths professor at Edinburgh in the 1750s, Matthew Stewart ("perhaps the first mathematician of his age"), as one who "could not deviate from the standard of consummate science, or accommodate himself to the capacity of his scholars" (and it is here that Somerville reminds us that these scholars were mostly "boys"). Consequently, it was only the already talented mathematicians among them, or "those of them who enjoyed the assistance of private tutors", who made any progress.[48] It was accordingly one of Michael Russel's complaints against the Scottish universities that there was too much attention paid to "what the teacher achieved" and too little to "what the student is induced to achieve".[49] He in fact recommended that, rather than go on from such a university to Oxford or Cambridge, as some students did (again, Dempster's nephew was to do this), the student would do better to take advantage of the tutorial system at Oxbridge first, and then go to Scotland for the specialists. John Witherspoon had made a similar point, but in favour of his own College of New Jersey: the conditions for the best pedagogy did not exist, he argued, where a "good professor is easily and speedily distinguished by his own performance, [and] by the esteem, attachment, and progress of the diligent, but very little, if at all, hurt by the ignorance of the negligent".[50] The 1826 Commissioners also commented on this problem, and specifically recommended the appointment, by the universities, of tutors to supply what was lost with the regents.[51]

The professors were being distanced from their pupils in other ways. Roger Emerson has traced the rise in their incomes during the century, showing, as my earlier quotation from William Thom

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[48] *My Own Life and Times*, p.15.

[49] Michael Russel, *Remarks and Explanations connected with the 'View of the System of Education at present pursued in the Schools and Universities of Scotland'*, Edinburgh, 1815, pp.75-76.

[50] *Address to the Inhabitants of Jamaica*, vol.VIII, p.13.

[51] *Evidence*, vol.III, pp.413-14, and *Report made to His Majesty by a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the state of the Universities of Scotland*, London, 1831, p.10.

does, the corresponding improvement of the professors' position in relation to other middle-class groups.[52] It was indeed largely in order to fund this rise at St Andrews that the economies effected by the Union of the Colleges in 1747 were needed.[53] After that Union, the disused St Leonard's College was bought by Robert Watson as a family residence (it was here that Boswell and Johnson were accommodated during their visit to St Andrews), and this particular change of use is, I think, emblematic of the larger change which I am concerned with here. One may not accept William Thom's unfavourable portrait of an aloof, snobbish, and self-sufficient professoriate, but it is clear that the old collegiate habit of life was becoming incongruous and unappealing to professors having polite ideals, the incomes to pursue them, and families to focus these in the home. Before 1747, most or all of the staff of St Andrews University had lived in college.[54] Progressively after that time they moved out, and although the professors continued to be responsible for the supervision of collegiate life, they seem to have carried out that supervision with some reluctance.[55]

Accordingly, the preference was for a similar boarding-out of the students. This preference seems to have become unanimous by the time of the Royal Commission (the 1820s), if indeed it had not been so before. Looking back from that time to the 1780s, when student boarders were still quite numerous, a University memorandum concludes that "the spirit of the age was not so averse to monastic seclusion, nor so alive to the comforts of domestic society".[56] It is not this assessment (surely wrong) of the spirit of the 1780s that is informative here, but rather its identification of what had in fact then been and was continuing to be the motive for removal from

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[52] 'Scottish universities in the eighteenth century, 1690-1800', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, pp.460-61.
[53] *Report made to His Majesty*, p.390.
[54] In his evidence to the Commissioners, John Hunter says that all staff did: *Evidence*, vol.III, p.50.
[55] See Cant, *The University of St Andrews*, pp.117-19. We have noticed in the previous chapter that attendance by the professors at Prayer Halls had fallen away.
[56] *Evidence*, vol.III, p.342.

college: a distaste for that gothic rudeness attributed to collegiate life, as we have seen it was to the collegiate buildings.[57] The family life which Rousseau and Brooke distrust and usurp was becoming the model for polite living (and the test for polite literature, as I will suggest in my next chapter). It is this which makes the conversion of St Leonard's into the Watson family home emblematic. The working college was no longer itself the scene in which the young man was to be made into the desired social being. Hence the arrangement which James Hall mentions:

> The professors invited to their houses, once in each year or session, every student in their classes, of all ranks and capacities. On these occasions, they laid aside all magisterial dignity, and conversed in a polite, familiar, and easy manner.[58]

That "polite, familiar, and easy manner" is very much the on-site discursive medium of David Fordyce's Academy, the college featured in his *Dialogues concerning Education*. There, pupils and staff together are described as a "Family", of which the "common Father" is the Principal, Euphranor (*euphranein* means 'to cheer', but the influence of *euphrazein*, 'to speak well', is probably present).[59] His deputy is called Philander, and the name is again suggestive of an education which is, as Meiklejohn says education should be, a "social act". That is indeed a characteristic of education which is expressly approved in Fordyce's Academy (sometimes called "the Society").[60] Now, this book was written by a Scottish professor, it collected together many of the ideals and preoccupations of Scottish educationists in the mid-century, and accordingly the "powerful hold on the contemporary imagination" which Peter Jones rightly attributes to it was especially noticeable in

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[57] I have mentioned the University's concern about the college buildings in Chapter I. Professor Jackson, in his evidence to the Commissioners, wishes that there might be "nothing of unclassic reminiscence" in the university scenery (*Evidence*, vol.III, p.138).

[58] *Travels in Scotland*, vol.I, p.119.

[59] *Dialogues concerning Education*, vol.I, pp.25 and 32.

[60] *Dialogues concerning Education*, vol.I, pp.54-55.

Scotland.[61] Its real-life model, besides, was one of the dissenters' academies, institutions which had close personal and ideological relations with the Scottish universities. It is therefore worth insisting here that those universities were already, at the time of its publication in 1745, becoming in fact progressively less like the Fordyce portrait of familial culture. For them, that portrait was necessarily retrospective, the glamourising of a model of education which they had done with. The original behind this fictitious institution had been Philip Doddridge's Northampton Academy, but the model and the actual starting-point for that institution and the other dissenting academies like it had been the clerical tutor with his two or three boarding pupils. Even when such places grew in size and reputation, with assistant staff having subject specialisms, they were too small and impoverished ever to develop the pattern of researching professors and their peripatetic students which the Scottish universities were pioneering. Fordyce himself, though specialising in Moral Philosophy, had died before Marischal College made its public resolution "That henceforth each Professor be employed in cultivating and teaching *one* particular branch of knowledge".[62] His own background was in regenting, and his Academy is really an idealisation of the tradition to which regenting belonged, a tradition from which the Scottish universities were deliberately departing.

Of course I do not mean to suggest that the traditional pedagogic disciplines, the personal controls and personal relationships, were at once or ever wholly disused when the professors became specialists and family-minded men. These disciplines certainly survived, as records from the St Andrews of the later eighteenth century testify. General harangues, like Principal Tullidelph's at the monthly "Common Schools", and *ad hominem* ones, such as Percival Stockdale used to receive; end of term addresses like Principal Playfair's to his divinity students ("This session of the

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[61] 'The Polite Academy and the Presbyterians, 1720-70', in *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, p.164.

[62] *The Scots Magazine*, vol.XIV, December, 1752, p.606. Fordyce died in 1751.

College hastens to a conclusion [...]"); schemes of supervision, like the "lines" system of the University Library, or the more searching one which required from every St Mary's student returning in the autumn "a certificate of correct deportment during the summer, from the minister of the parish in which he may then have resided"; unscheduled tutorial friendships, like that which Robert Fergusson gratefully records in 'An Eclogue, To the Memory of Dr William Wilkie': in such forms the wider education could and did continue as it ever had, only faintly coloured by the history of ideas.[63] But these contacts had increasingly the character of interventions rather than essentials of the University structure. The fixed professorships and the gradual disintegration of collegiate life in the Scottish universities now ensured that it could not be in the institution-as-tutor that they deliberately invested the larger educational hopes which are the subject of this chapter. A moral agency more congruous with these recent academic developments would have to be found.

There was now, we have seen, a specialist professoriate, devoted to subjects of study not primarily as constituting together a four-year course for young men, but rather as having individually their epistemological ways forward to make and the careers of their professors to secure.[64] The modernisation and the sophistication of these different parts of the curriculum was a natural consequence. The empiricism of Bacon and Locke was deliberately and proudly incorporated into their teaching.[65] The bounds of old subjects were

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[63] Hall, *Travels in Scotland*, pp.118-19; Percival Stockdale, *Memoirs*; Playfair's address, April, 1781, in St Andrews University Library MS 37511(a); the "lines" system is explained in my next chapter, p.132; 'Laws of St Mary's College', recorded in Principal Tullidelph's commonplace book, St Andrews University Library MS LF1109.T8.C6; *Poems of Robert Fergusson*, vol.II, pp.82-85.

[64] The professionalisation of one of these subjects, Rhetoric, will be my theme in Chapter IV.

[65] See Alexander Gerard, *Plan of Education in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen, with the Reasons of it*, Aberdeen, 1755. Note that this publication, announcing "a very material alteration in the order of teaching Philosophy [i.e. the Arts subjects]", appeared within two or three years of the announcement of the end of regenting at Marischal (quoted earlier).

enlarged and dormant subjects were activated: we shall see this at St Andrews in the case of Rhetoric and Civil History. But this was not just a "natural" consequence, the result of revived intellectual purpose and enthusiasm. Historians of the Scottish universities have noticed that specialisation among the professors, and the associated departure of the regent supervising his annual cohort, loosened academic controls over what the students studied. The habit of graduation declined, and with it the concept of an imposed syllabus, leaving for the student that more liberal medium of education which is sometimes called *lernfreiheit*.[66] It became commercially rewarding to professors, who earned by course-subscription as well as by fixed salary, to make their subjects important and interesting, and thereby to attract attendance among the now more autonomous students.

At St Andrews, the smallest of the universities, this financial factor probably had little influence, and it is likely also that a fairly close academic supervision of students did persist there. However, that there was greater freedom of study even there is suggested by the borrowing records, as analysed in Appendix II. Table 3 there shows that, although there was no great increase in use of the Library as a whole by students during the period surveyed, there was a significant increase in the variety of reading which they took from it. This increase, as I say in the Appendix (p.293), "suggests a change from education by group-passage through course-books – a class-centred education – towards a much less supervised and more individualised education, in fact a literary education in the broad sense, a printed-book education". Certainly the motive to promote subjects in the estimation of students was there at St Andrews: we will see it reflected in the surviving lecture records, for instance of Robert Watson, Hugh Cleghorn, and George Hill, where the value of the subject in hand is in each case advertised ambitiously. But

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[66] See Camic, *Experience and Enlightenment*, pp.174-85. For a description of *lernfreiheit* at Edinburgh, see J.B.Morrell, 'The University of Edinburgh in the Late Eighteenth Century: its scientific eminence and academic structure', *Isis*, vol.LXII, 1971, pp.158-71.

these promotional introductions to lecture courses had, too, a larger motive. Here was a body of students now less supervised in their academic work, and taught more remotely in subject areas where parts would be too hard for some students. Much of their reading would be their own choice, and unshared. If the old course-books were not to be replaced by a profitless heterogeneity, some concept of the function of that reading, within the subject and beyond it, was necessary, as a guide to students and as a justification for the new dispensation. It was such a concept that the introductions to the lecture courses did indeed commonly propose.

They also commonly propose – and this is particularly true of the courses at St Andrews in Classics, Rhetoric, and History – a moral philosophy for their subjects: that is, a role for their subjects in addressing the specifically moral *lernfreiheit* produced by the departure of the regents and the decay of collegiate life (both, as we have noticed, associated with the specialist professoriate). And that role was not conferred on the lectures themselves so much as on the reading to which the lectures would direct the students.

That is the development to which I have been leading from the start of this chapter: the referring to literature of those needs of youth for which the accepted reference had hitherto been the personal tutor. Indeed that still was the reference accepted in the thinking of the notable educational texts and in the practice of the gentry. We have seen it to be so. Therefore, before I discuss the new theory as it appeared in particular subjects, I wish to suggest how this re-siting of moral instruction in books, a re-siting apparently so much at odds with the still-prevailing tutorial model of moral supervision, came to appear reasonable and plausible.

The first point I highlight is the one implicit in all that I have hitherto been saying. There was a strong sense among the Scottish intelligentsia of the moral needs of young people, and of the obligations of educationists to the society of the future. At the same time, the academic subject, more generally the printed book, was tending to become, in the universities, the only institutionalised

access which teachers had to their charges. However, in that realm, the teacher had the scope and the interest to research and bring forward whatever seemed most apposite and most serviceable to the times – and this they were doing when they made their subjects address these needs and obligations.

Then, we remember that it was rather the corruptions of society than any inherent sinfulness in the young themselves that educationists now wished to prepare them against. Emile's tutor, with his watchful and insulationary precautions, dramatised the privative method which this moral philosophy seemed to desiderate. But were not books privative? One professor in his evidence to the Commissioners argued that most of the time which a student spent at lectures would be better employed were he to take his professor's text-book away and "study the subject coolly and without distraction in his closet".[67] That distraction would arise from the presence of other students (as indeed might "corruption" more generally, a hazard of universities which we have already noticed). Hence this exchange, between Dr Mitchell and the Commissioners, about students living in College:

> [Dr Mitchell speaks first] I think it as well that they should be in private lodgings. When they were all together in the College, they used to meet too often with one another.
>
> Did they interfere with each other's studies?
>
> It was thought so.[68]

The withdrawal or abduction of the pupil in fiction by his tutor here becomes the withdrawal of the student into the closet and the private lodging in the care of the book.

This re-entrustment was being reflected at large in the numerous manuals of learning and conduct which appeared during the eighteenth century as "tutors" or "preceptors". Robert Dodsley's *Preceptor* was one such book, and a much-borrowed one at St

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[67] *Evidence*, vol.III, p.151: Thomas Duncan's testimony.
[68] *Evidence*, vol.III, p.109. John Mitchell was Professor of Divinity from 1825-1835.

Andrews.[69] The contents of this book, with its dialogue between "Governor" and "Pupil", and its tutorial injunctions ("my Pupil, learn early to despise that Mirth of which the End is Sorrow"), intermittently press the claim of the title itself that this is not just a course-book, but a large part of the "social act" of education transformed into print.[70] Although, then, the printed book is on the face of it antithetical to that sociability which was prized in tutorial education, there was some logic and some superadded plausibility in the casting of it as the tutor's substitute or successor.

However, those who hoped to make moral training in this way a literary function had to address a substantial distrust, expressed in contemporary educational literature, of exactly that privative effect of the book which we have just been noticing. The key word "virtue" did not only, as John Witherspoon complained, deprive goodness of its reference to sacred things.[71] More positively, it referred goodness to the active life – so at least it was commonly understood to do in the eighteenth century. As John Buddo wrote, "It is virtue alone which enables a man to discharge the offices of state with credit, and to procure the well-being of society; which teaches him to prefer the public good to his own private interest."[72] We have already frequently noticed the association, in pedagogic aspirations, of good upbringing and a regenerated society. But, to return to our paradigmatic texts, neither Rousseau nor Brooke encouraged the supposition that a bookish education could do much either for the child or for society. "I hate books. They only teach one to talk about what one does not know." So Rousseau says, thinking, it is true, of Emile's earlier years (before the age of fifteen).[73] In *A Fool of Quality*, there is a subsidiary narrative, entitled 'History of the Man of Letters', which traces this irrelevancy of books further, through university and into working

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[69] *The Preceptor, containing a General Course of Education*, 2 vols, London, 1748.
[70] For the dialogue, see, eg., *Preceptor*, vol.I, Part V; quotation from vol.II, p.517.
[71] See footnote 1 in this chapter.
[72] *Progress of Education and Manners*, p.180.
[73] *Emile*, p.184.

life. Although Mr Clement is a learned young man, a Cambridge graduate, he quickly finds that his education is unserviceable – a point made plain to him by a patron who has tried to place him in work: "by all I can find, you know no one thing of use to yourself, or any other person living, whether with respect to this world or the world to come." Brooke generalises Clement's case. It seems that numberless, similarly educated, lapsed gentlemen resort, with an allegorical irony, to the book trade for means of survival: here, as one bookseller says, such a man "on whose education more money has been expended than, at the common and legal interest, would maintain a decent family to the end of the world" will "labour like an hackney horse from morning to night, at less wages than I could hire a rascally porter or shoe-boy for three hours". Clement himself first enters the novel when Mr Fenton and Harry discover him with his young family preparing to die of starvation in a field.[74]

Similarly, David Fordyce pictures the "mere Book-worm [...], unqualified for the Practice of the World"; William Thom has "Philologus, a commentator [...,] a stranger to all forms of business", trained in youth to prefer "the ponderous lumber of ancient erudition".[75] By way of summary, it is the leading theme of Thomas Sheridan's *British Education* that "no education in the world qualifies men less for the active life than ours".[76]

Now this distrust of bookishness in education was already, from the mid-century, being addressed in the new Scottish "academies", schools which provided a more practical education than the universities.[77] The academies had, as I have mentioned, an

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[74] *A Fool of Quality*, vol.I, p.203 to vol.II, p.53 (quotations from vol.I, pp.212 and 226).

[75] *Dialogues concerning Education*, vol.I, pp.94 and 98; *Trial of a Student at the College of Clutha in the Kingdom of Oceana*, Glasgow, 1768, pp.54 and 57.

[76] *British Education: or, the source of the disorders of Great Britain*, London, 1756, p.525. This book was bought for the St Andrews Library in 1758 (Curators' Reports, p.40). Although Sheridan was evidently thinking, in *British Education*, about Oxford and Cambridge, his ideas probably received more serious attention in Scotland than they did in England.

[77] For a discussion of the "academy movement", see Donald J. Withrington, 'Education and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', in *Scotland in the Age*

ambiguous relation to the universities: they might be seen equally as preparatory to the senior institutions or as alternatives to them. One of their promoters was a man whose criticism of the universities we have already encountered, William Thom. A tract which he issued on the subject, in 1762, makes clear in its title how he views the relation between the two types of institution: *The Defects of a University Education, and its Unsuitableness to a Commercial People; with the Expediency and Necessity of erecting, at Glasgow, an Academy for the Instruction of Youth.* The "suitableness" of Thom's proposed academy did not consist in an end to book-learning, of course, but rather in a shift from metaphysical subjects to evidential and empirical ones: from "disquisitions about the origin of moral virtue, etc.", which are "confessedly of no use in life", to "History, Geography, Experimental Philosophy, the principles of trade and commerce, and many other useful branches of knowledge".[78] Not that Thom thought moral education useless: he thought only that Moral Philosophy as a subject did not effect it. He found that, in spite of all "the modern theories of morality [...,] the practice of virtue is miserably relaxed".[79] This, we have seen, was part of his charge against the universities, that their moral regime was complacent and ineffective, and it was a view commonly held by promoters of the academies.[80]

Certainly the Scottish universities were responding to these criticisms. We can take Marischal's *Plan of Education*, mentioned above, as one such response. Its "very material alteration in the order of teaching Philosophy" entailed putting those subjects which involved "induction of particulars" first, and the subjects which codified them second. Therefore, Languages, History,

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of Improvement, ed. N.T.Phillipson and R.Mitchison, Edinburgh, 1970, pp.169-90.

[78] The title and quotation appear in a list of works "Lately published" which prefaces Thom's *Motives*.

[79] *Trial of a Student*, p.40.

[80] See, for instance, the prospectus of the Ayr Academy, 1794, as quoted by Withrington in 'Education and Society', p.178.

Geography, even gardening and the manufacturing technologies (as aspects of Natural Philosophy), would be studied in the first two years. Logic, Metaphysics, and Moral Philosophy would be studied "last of all". Since many students at the smaller Scottish universities stayed only for part of the course, this arrangement was the expression, to some extent, of absolute preferences among the subjects; more deliberately and explicitly, it fitted them to the epistemology of Bacon and Locke. In effecting this reconstruction, Marischal College proposed "forming the minds of youth, so as they may be possessed of more real knowledge, and that more useful for the various purposes of human life".[81]

The modern epistemology was also, of course, Rousseau's epistemology for Emile. "Let us transform our sensations into ideas", Rousseau writes, "but not leap all of a sudden from objects of sense to intellectual objects. It is by way of the former that we ought to get to the latter."[82] But Rousseau envisaged a succession of tutorial artifices by means of which this journey of instruction could be profitably made by Emile, in moral as in scientific matters. By what "induction of particulars" could the university student, apparently so much given over to book-wormism, be introduced to the truths and indeed habits of morality? The answer which Gerard gives in the *Plan*, and which the other Scottish universities were also giving, was not new to thought, though it was new to university education, and I will give it as it was imaged by Fénelon at the end of the previous century, and encountered in that form throughout the eighteenth.

It is shortly after Telemachus has been morally positioned in the terms which I have already quoted – "at an age which can form no judgement of the future, has gained no experience from the past, and knows not how to employ the present" – that he meets the Egyptian priest Termosiris. Here, by nearly exact contrast, is "an old man" who, replete with experience, "related past events with such

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[81] *Plan of Education*, pp.3, 6, 7, and 10.
[82] *Emile*, p.168.

force of expression, that they seemed to be present", and "foresaw the future, by a sagacity that discovered the true characters and dispositions of mankind, and the events which they would produce". At the time of the meeting, Telemachus is a prisoner of the Egyptians. He has asked to be allowed literature. Termosiris is someone who "regarded young persons with a kind of parental affection, when he perceived that they had a disposition to be instructed, and a love for virtue", and he arrives with "a book in his hand".[83] In this book, we are to understand, the wisdom and the pedagogic solicitude of Termosiris will be made available to Telemachus. It is an instance of the tutor as print. Its content proves to be versified mythology. The instruction, then, which this pagan priest objectifies in literature for the inexperienced and vulnerable youth, due in time to be leader of his people, is a cross between poetry and history.

It was indeed in these two literary fields, as Rhetoric and Civil History, that the Scottish universities developed their moral training in print. At St Andrews, they were both formally identified as academic subjects for the first time in the critical year 1747, appearing in the titles of two new professorial chairs – Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics, and Civil and Natural History. How these subjects came to be used there for the larger up-bringing of the students is what I shall now consider, taking History first.

Robert Watson's course of Rhetoric included one lecture on historiography. In it, he makes the point about aetiology which Termosiris seems to stand for. History instructs us in our own affairs by showing causes and effects in the past, "the foundation of which instruction is what universal experience shows to be true, viz that similar events and actions are always in similar circumstances attended with similar consequences". He also shows that the method of historiography, "being conversant with

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[83] *The Adventures of Telemachus*: quotations from vol.I, pp.21 and 41, and vol.II, p.62.

particular objects", is inductive (we have noticed that History is one of the subjects which Gerard puts early in the Marischal College course, immediately after Languages). It therefore, says Watson, "lays faster hold of the mind and makes deeper impressions" than Philosophy. Here was a subject, then, which would apparently serve the sons of Fordyce's Urbanus, since by studying it "we may in some measure be prepared for Action before we enter upon it". However, it is not exactly the Urbani of the future whom Watson means to train with History. What he most stresses in the subject is its moral value. Not only does it have none of the risks of a merely experimental maturation, being in this respect a "safer method" of getting wisdom (we remember the "injurious extravagencies" of Telemachus).[84] It also has "a tendency to improve the mind in virtue by exhibiting an infinite variety of characters which not only afford exercise to the moral sense, but likewise tend through the principle of sympathy to beget those very virtues in us, which were possessed by the persons whose characters and actions are recorded". The word "exercise", used here of the moral sense (and used of the passions in his literary theory, as we shall see), is an important one in Watson's moral teaching. Sharing, as he seems largely to have done, the views of Rousseau on the natural soundness of the human being, he judged that the human faculties needed activating rather than correcting. He was also aware that academic study, in its new circumstances, had to be addressed to the whole person, not just to the mind – its responsibility being, as Brooke's Mr Fenton advises the illiberal schoolmaster Mr Vindex, "to make men of worth" rather than merely "to make men of letters".[85] Accordingly he prefers the word "sense" to anything more cerebral when he summarises this moral drift of History. The subject, Watson says, has "a Tendency to give us a lively sense of the vicissitudes to which human affairs are subjected, and the emptiness of

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[84] Compare Rousseau, *Emile*, p.237: "to put the human heart in his reach without risk of spoiling his own [...] This is the moment for history".
[85] *The Fool of Quality*, vol.I, p.195.

everything but virtue".[86]

In *Emile*, Rousseau recommends history in its more "particular" form, as biography, for "one must begin by studying man [i.e. as opposed to events] in order to judge men". Biography, besides, corrects the bias of History towards "the public man who has dressed himself to be seen".[87] It is likewise to the wisdom taught in biography, as a corrective to "public" historiography, that George Chapman especially directs History teachers in his *Treatise on Education*.[88] Lives of great men were no doubt the ideal spectacle for historical instruction.[89] These the Scottish universities did indeed both study and produce. At St Andrews, for instance, Plutarch's *Lives* (a book specified by Rousseau) was frequently borrowed in this period, and Watson devoted his own academic research to lives of Philip II and Philip III of Spain.

It is not evident how much actual teaching of History Watson did at St Andrews. The first active possessor of the Chair founded in 1747 seems to have been Hugh Cleghorn, who was appointed in 1773.[90] It may be that it was Watson, therefore, who did whatever was done at St Andrews before that date to respond to the new sense of the subject's significance. His own *History of the Reign of Philip II* is essentially a narrative history, but the character sketches at the start and finish of the book present this phase of European

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[86] 'Introduction to Logic and Rhetoric', notes taken from Watson's lectures dated 1778, St Andrews University Library MS BC6.W2. My quotations are from the second part, separately paginated and called 'A Compend of Rhetoric', pp.234-37. A set of notes from the same lectures, in Edinburgh University Library, is dated 1764 (Edinburgh University Library MS Dc.6.50/2).

[87] *Emile*, p.240.

[88] "History, laying before a young man the experience of others, will teach him wisdom without a risk to himself, and make him acquainted with the human heart without corrupting his own [...] History presents men, as it were, in their best attire, and dressed out for the public. Biography follows them into the closet, and shows them in an undress, and as they usually appear at home." (pp.149-50).

[89] Perhaps, also, biographies of great men, giving – as they must – great dimensions to individual virtues and vices, were appreciated in Scotland as a secular substitute for protestant eschatology: i.e. were being used as part of the substitution of the book for dogmatic religion.

[90] Cleghorn's appointment, and the condition of Civil History at St Andrews before and after his arrival, are discussed by Aylwin Clark in *An Enlightened Scot: Hugh Cleghorn, 1752-1837*, Duns, 1992, pp.16-18 and 24-26.

struggle as the product of the arrogant and uncompromising character of the one man. An interesting argument, very relevant to contemporary Scottish concerns, underlies this representation. Philip's disastrous kingship, Watson argues, was not the effect simply of "the natural depravity of his disposition".[91] He had been narrowly educated "under ecclesiastics, noted for their bigotry", and "the sentiments of an illiberal, cruel, gloomy superstition" which that education nursed in him were unmodified by "any useful acquaintance with the world" (this last phrase is in fact used in Watson's account of Pope Paul IV). His father, the Emperor Charles V, had been equally ambitious, but his ambition had been "tempered and corrected by his acquaintance with the world". In this sense, experience of the world, so far from corrupting, tested and humanised the mind. It was Philip's tragedy that, being "naturally serious and thoughtful", he had the sort of education that Fordyce's Urbanus fears, one "teaching him to adhere too pertinaciously to his own Opinions", not equal to the "infinite delicacy of affairs".[92]

Philip II is in fact the historiography of a moderate churchman, a caution against intolerant and world-spurning religion. The moderate Presbyterians denied that mundane life was inherently vicious, that in his business on earth man was "a sinful, unworthy worm" (a phrase of Thomas Halyburton).[93] It held, indeed, that the world had its own sermons to contribute to the cause of virtue – not just in the acknowledged pagan classics, but also in Ossian and on the stage. In some sense, the world was itself a sermon, as Watson seems to argue in the case of Philip II (though in that instance an ineffective one). It was not only, then, by naturalising the Scriptures (we remember from the previous chapter the "obliging dispositions" of Archibald Campbell's apostles) that the moderates were designing a secular goodness: they were using

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[91] Note that this "natural" means "peculiar" not (Halyburton's sense) "Adamite".
[92] *History of the Reign of Phillip II*, vol.II, p.409, vol.I, pp.1, 75, 24, 74-75, and 2. The last quotation is from *Dialogues concerning Education*, vol.II, p.6.
[93] *Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Thomas Halyburton*, p.191.

secular history as source material for it. In doing so, they revised the concept of goodness in such a way as to reconcile it with the world – re-adopted it, in fact, as "virtue" – and so provided the educators among them with a realisable project: the good man of affairs: "as good as possible, and always as busy as a bee" is how George Dempster pictures the condition; Fordyce has the plainer formula "honest Citizens".[94]

It was with this ideal that Hugh Cleghorn introduced the subject of Civil History to his students when he began his course of lectures in 1773. They were asked not to regard the subject as discretely academic. Its material raised "many important enquiries, which do not naturally belong to those branches of Science which are the common topics of Academical Lectures". Its final reference was, in fact, "the civil character of man", and this was a matter in which the students would be personally implicated:

> When I address you as men of independence and of active life, I describe in some measure those scenes in which Providence may call upon you to act. When I address you as Britons, as active members of the government of your country, I consider it as your indispensable duty to understand the Science of Politics.[95]

Accordingly, although Cleghorn's lectures aimed to provide a sociology of history, on the models of Montesquieu and Adam Ferguson, rather than narratives of periods and events, he did exploit those issues which might especially engage the interest of Scottish youth of the time: recent events in North America, for instance, or the situation in the Highlands of Scotland ("part of our own country, and in our own day").[96]

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[94] *Dialogues concerning Education*, vol.II, p.50.

[95] Cleghorn, Lectures (entitled 'National Institutions: Origin and Progress of Governments'), St Andrews University Library MS dep.53, Box III, pp.11-12, 5, and 12.

[96] Cleghorn discusses American affairs, mainly the issue of slavery, on pp.154-216, and the Highlands (as part of a study of tribal societies) on pp.43-47. The quotation is from p.43.

Cleghorn in fact believed that History could be a formative influence on young people because the curiosity which it addressed was as much moral as intellectual. Like Watson, he saw here an affinity with imaginative literature:

> That Sympathy, which is common to all, renders the Description of human passions highly interesting, and leads every man to take a concern, in the character of individuals, and in the fortune of states [...] Hence Poetry and History, are more universally relished than any of the other branches of Learning; the pleasure they afford arising from a principle common to all men.[97]

For Cleghorn, History was indeed a moral discipline, both as demonstrating the force of morality in human affairs, and as engaging the moral energies of the student. So he uses recent Highland history to show that "inclement and ungenerous laws [...] may produce civil disabilities, but it is long before they can eradicate that influence which has its seat in the heart". Against that durability of clan sentiment, he sets the newly monied chief, spending his wealth away from home "in the gratification of his vanity, upon manufactured produce, upon trinkets, and gue-gaws".[98] This is not just an exemplification of the primitive and the corrupted virtues; it is an affective presentation, intended to enlist the moral allegiance of the students.

It is evident, indeed, that Cleghorn was choosing his themes with such a purpose in mind. He clearly shared those contemporary concerns which are the premises of the present chapter: the sense of youth's impressionability, and the desire to make the sound growing-up of the young also the growing-up of society, not merely the inheritance of existing ways of the world. By citing and characterising the delinquencies of the past, he hoped to qualify that past as a beneficent training instead of a corrupting heritage. Accordingly he deplores and fears purely disinterested

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[97] Cleghorn, Lectures, pp.1-2.
[98] Cleghorn, Lectures, pp.45-46.

historiography. Contemplating Xenophon's uncensorious account of the way the Spartans treated the Helots, Cleghorn comments "I have been induced to think that history thus written, may become too dangerous for the perusal of youth."[99]

It was here indeed that History as a moral instrument became problematic. It was not, after all, engaged historiography of Cleghorn's kind which was advancing the reputation of the Scottish mind at this time. The work which had recently established modern Scottish historiography, William Robertson's *History of Scotland*, was valued exactly for its impartiality, by the author as well as by his readers.[100] The same author later stopped short his study of American history, postponing its continuation into modernity until such time as "I can write and the public can read with more impartiality and better information than at present."[101] Certainly, this was a matter of degree: a historian was not to be inhumanly disinterested, and Robertson was also praised for showing himself a lover of liberty.[102] But the sort of close ethical interpretation which Cleghorn used might well be regarded as unacademic. So indeed it does seem to have been regarded by someone (presumably a professorial colleague) to whom Cleghorn showed his lecture script: this person wrote in the script a warning against the making of immoderate judgements such as would tend to "generate prejudice" in the minds of the students.[103]

Besides, even supposing that partisanship might be given free scope, there was no altering events themselves. I have shown that Robert Watson had, in his lecture on historiography, preferred history to fiction because it dealt with real events, through which its students would be accurately "prepared for action". Fiction, on the other hand, though it might be momentarily convincing, so that its readers "are wrought into a temporary perception of its

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[99] Cleghorn, Lectures, p.147.
[100] See the comments which Dugald Stewart records in his *Account of the Life and Writings of William Robertson*, London, 1801, pp.14, 19, and 57.
[101] *Life and Writings of William Robertson*, p.83.
[102] See, for instance, *Life and Writings of William Robertson*, p.16.
[103] Marginalium in Cleghorn, Lectures, p.115.

reality", must be ineffectual because "no inference can from thence be drawn to real life".[104] But elsewhere in the lectures he developed a line of thought which promoted fiction over history as a training for the young precisely because it was not tied to real life, and this thinking was part of a literary theory which, for Watson, established Rhetoric as the moral centre of the curriculum.

In his 'Compend of Rhetoric' (the course of lectures as recorded in 1778), Watson explains the pre-eminence of fiction thus. History is confined for its subject matter to "things as they really happened". Fiction may choose characters and events which "have naturally a good Effect upon the mind": that is, which show human conduct "in a proper light", and provide "just and affecting views of the good and bad consequences with which virtue and vice are accompanied". And in making this choice, the creative writer, unlike the historian, can be guided by the principle that "Exactness of imitation is a lower End, than the Improvement of Mankind in virtue". The traditional resources of rhetoric, which Watson has formerly listed, are what enable the writer freely to enforce these "views" in "the most pathetic and affecting manner" (whereas the historian, as Watson warns in his lecture on History, must use such devices sparingly). Having this freedom of choice in subject-matter and treatment, "Poetry may be constituted, so as to serve the Cause of virtue better than History".[105]

The quotations in the previous paragraph suggest that Watson was addressing his audience as writers, offering that sort of prescriptive theory which had been the traditional pursuit both of Rhetoric and of more general literary disquisition.[106] Of course he was concerned with prescription, a point which I shall return to at the end of this chapter. But in fact Watson's lecture course had begun, as we have already noticed, with an emphatic claim to new

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[104] 'Compend of Rhetoric', p.238. For what we might call "literature", Watson tends to use the terms "poetry" and "imitation". Since the critical point here is whether events are real or made-up, I have used the term "fiction", although all these terms, used in modern English, seem to have some tendency to mislead.

[105] 'Compend of Rhetoric', 1778, pp.142-43, and 159.

[106] See George Watson, *The Literary Critics*, London, 1964, pp.13-14.

territory for his subject: it was to encompass not just "Publick Orations" but "all the different kinds of Discourse", and not only "Rhetorick" but also "Criticisms".[107] The emphasis of his course of lectures, as thus introduced, was to be upon reading rather than writing, and his literary theory was devised in order to evaluate literature as reading matter. It is best understood, then, as a contribution to that contemporary debate whose *locus classicus* was the play *Douglas*, and whose fundamental question was – could secular literature be expected to play a beneficent part in the moral welfare of the people? The answer given by John Witherspoon, we have noticed, was "no": he argued that "voluntarily and unnecessarily exciting" the passions, as fictions did, was merely dangerous, because "the human passions, since the Fall, are all of them but too strong".[108] Robert Watson shared this notion that literature "voluntarily" excited the passions, but not, we know, the comprehensive suspicion of passions as such, at least in the young. Accordingly, his literary theory, and therefore his case for Rhetoric as the medium in which print would school youthful morality, was actually a physiology of the passions.

As such, Watson's literary theory was wholly in the spirit of its time. It was drawing upon the continuingly strong tradition of Scottish moral philosophy, but extending it into an immediate utility. Of course, academic moral philosophy had never, despite William Thom's strictures, been complacently abstract. If philosophical knowledge was not strictly necessary to "our moral Actions and Affections", as Francis Hutcheson had conceded, it could at least be argued that "True Opinions about both, may enable us to improve our natural powers, and to rectify accidental Disorders incident unto them".[109] Isaac Watts, in his *Doctrine of the Passions*, premised that the object of studying the passions was

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[107] 'A Treatise on Rhetorick', fol.1r-1v.
[108] *A Serious Inquiry* (*Works*, vol.VI, p.59).
[109] *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections*, London, 1742 (1728), Preface, p.vii.

"their better management".[110] The centrality of them in human motivation, as preludes to conduct, was regarded as axiomatic: they were, another writer being read at St Andrews said, "so many Wings to us, whereby we are Enabled to Pursue and Overtake, what is Good and Conducive to our Happiness, and to Fly from and Escape, what is Hurtful, and would make us Miserable".[111]

Watson had read these works by Hutcheson and Watts as a student (both of them in October, 1749), and his own students were reading them.[112] True, he introduces literature into their subject by way of an old-established literary theory, Aristotle's "Purification of the passions", but his thinking is best understood in its contemporary Scottish context.[113] Although the moralists wished to make their studies effective, it was only as "Human Knowledge", so Hutcheson concedes, that such studies were "certainly" profitable (they only *may* "enable us to improve").[114] What Isaac Watts calls a "moral and religious Discipline" was so in the academic sense. Watson, we shall see, now gave this discipline an experiential dimension in literature, making fiction just that sort of controlled, empirical improvement of the young personality which the tutors imagined by Rousseau and Brooke were to contrive from the events of real life.

Watson's argument is "that virtuous passions acquire strength by exercise", and that literary fictions provide this exercise as their primary business: "The principal end of this kind of imitation is to afford a profitable exercise to the virtuous affections and passions."[115] The word "profitable" seems to have two references here. It refers firstly to that property of fiction already mentioned as

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[110] London, 1739 (3rd edition, the one which the Library at St Andrews possessed), Preface, p.iii.

[111] Francis Bragge, *Practical Treatise of the Regulation of the Passions*, London, 1708, p.5. This text was, like Watts' *Doctrine of the Passions*, owned by the St Andrews Library and borrowed by the students (see Appendix II).

[112] For Watson's reading, see L.R.B. (Students and Professors), 1748-53, p.83. For student reading of Hutcheson and Watts, see Appendix II.

[113] For Watson's reference to Aristotle, see 'Compend of Rhetoric', p.149.

[114] Hutcheson, *Essay*, p.vii.

[115] 'Compend of Rhetoric', pp.142-43.

constituting its superiority over history: its capacity to choose or manufacture materials which "have naturally a good Effect upon the mind", or, as Watson elaborates, which are capable of "putting the Mind into that chearful temper that disposes it to think favourably of virtue and providence" (we note the dual reference, secular and religious).[116] Secondly, "profitable" refers to the instrumentality of passion, the "wings" which Bragge speaks of: "our passions", says Watson, are "the spring [sic] and principles of action". They have been designed by "the Author of Nature" (the phrase, admittedly not an uncommon one, neatly endorses Watson's literary model of moral exercise) to relate us to actual life. Watson makes the point here in a purely literary connection; it explains why habitual reading in "the common writers of Romance" must be a "folly" in young people, for such literature, containing merely "chimerical" narratives, cannot improve or even engage the passions.[117] But there is a larger implication. If youthful passion is not disciplined by the sort of exercise which Watson finds in literature, it may become "violent and vehement", liable to "many errors, many weaknesses and imperfections".[118] And this was a matter of interest to society in general, as readers of Watts were being warned:

> Ungoverned Passions break all the Bonds of human Society and Peace, and would change the Tribes of Mankind into brutal Herds, or make the World a mere Wilderness of Savages. Passions unbridled would violate all the sacred Ties of Religion, and raise the Sons of Man in Arms against their Creator. Where Passion runs riot, there are none of the Rights of God or Man secure from its Insolences.[119]

Watson's theory of literature, then, addressed the welfare of the young and of the society which their generation would make. It

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[116] 'Compend of Rhetoric', p.164.
[117] 'Compend of Rhetoric', pp.151-52.
[118] 'Compend of Rhetoric', p.146.
[119] *Doctrine of the Passions*, p.iv.

was an academic construction, the result of his professional research as a specialist in Rhetoric, but he did not expect it to engage his pupils "profitably" in that form: to them, he envisaged that his subject would be serviceable in "particulars", the individual works of literature. He was playing the part of Termosiris, of the teacher not as tutor but as librarian, giving to young men the book of experience – or rather in this case the lectures which legitimised books as experience. His role and achievement here are wholly expressive of the new concept of the university in Scotland.

There was one obvious difficulty, however. Not all books deserved legitimising. Even some works of recognised quality did not conform to Watson's tonic requirements. He himself instances *Romeo and Juliet*, *Tancred and Sigismunda*, and *The Revenge* as among those "many" dramas whose "unhappy and miserable catastrophes have the bad effect very often of casting a gloom over the mind, and occasion a dissatisfaction and distrust in virtue and Providence".[120] In these cases, the failure to privilege "Improvement of Mankind in Virtue" over "Exactness of imitation" disappointed readers of that "favourable" view which, as we have seen, he thought that literature ought to promote.

Moreover, there was, besides these works of flawed greatness, a quantity of literature which lacked even that stature. As John Clarke had written in his *Essay on Study*, "Nine Parts in Ten, to speak within compass, of all the Books in the World, are absolutely good for nothing."[121] The professors at St Andrews were certainly familiar with Clarke's book, but did not need its help on that point:

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[120] 'Compend of Rhetoric', p.152.

[121] *An Essay on Study*, London, 1731, p.121. A copy of this book was owned by the St Andrews Library, and was still being borrowed frequently in Watson's time, as marginalia on its pages indicate (see also Appendix II). It was one of a genre of book aimed at teaching the young how to teach themselves, especially out of books. The promotion, by such books, of the book as a private intellectual and moral resource (see, for instance, Clarke on pp.220-21) made them especially valuable references for Scottish professors during the period which I am describing. I would guess that Watson recommended Clarke to his students.

their service as Curators in the Library, checking the boxes of books arriving twice-yearly from Stationers' Hall, must have made it very obvious to them. Watson's own lecture on Reading warns students against "the great number of bad books".[122] That part of Robert Watson's course in Rhetoric which argued the moral efficacy of literature, and which therefore showed how the Scottish universities might supply exactly what their new academic arrangements seemed to jeopardise, did also threaten to empower the "Nine Parts in Ten". If a young reader might improve himself with a book in his closet, what was to prevent him depraving himself in the same manner? It was evident, if education, and especially moral education, was indeed to be concentrated more and more in the university libraries, that those libraries ought not to be the unmediated product of the printing press – or, to think more ambitiously, that the printing press itself ought not to be the unmediated servant of uninformed demand. The projects of mediation, both modest and ambitious, which were accordingly devised in the Scottish universities will be the subject of my next chapter.

[122] 'Introduction to Logic and Rhetoric', part I, p.183.

Chapter IV: Institutions for the supervision of literature

The development within Scottish Rhetoric of a philosophy of reading, a philosophy which characterised it as a moral training, necessarily gave the university libraries a new responsibility. What was lost with the regents, and what was being desiderated so forcefully (and, it seems, acceptably) in the educational texts which we have been noticing, was now, apparently, to be largely supplied from library shelves. Yet this was a time when the university library was in fact becoming less strictly controllable as an educational resource, because, owing to the Copyright Acts, its contents were being decided as much outside as inside the universities. It was a time also when literature seemed, as we shall see, to be suffering a general hypertrophy, and most notably in exactly those categories which were to be the moral training-ground for the university – or at any rate in their least promising sub-categories: "What an immense proportion do romances, under the title of lives, adventures, memoirs, histories, &c. bear to any other sort of production in this age?"[1] There had never, in short, been a less propitious time to propose literature for a moral tutorship in the universities.

Robert Watson, we have noticed, recognised the problem as it presented itself both in serious literature and in the romances. Certainly, the use of an academic library by students could be controlled, and we will be noticing some of the ways in which this was done at St Andrews. And in a sense Watson himself was going some way towards solving the problem merely by recognising it, for he was in his lectures immediately addressing the people whose reading was at issue, and accordingly warning them against the unsuitable reading. But in so far as he was also addressing a notional audience of all writers (and Rhetoric did not soon

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[1] John Witherspoon, *A Serious Inquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Stage*, from *Works*, vol.VI, p.40. We shall encounter one or two of these "memoirs, histories, &c." later in this chapter.

dispense with this concept of its function), the case for hopeful intervention might seem rather forlorn. However, I will argue that in fact the development of Rhetoric as a subject during the third quarter of the eighteenth century should properly be understood as an ambitious project for just such an intervention in the making of literature, a project whose implications indeed transcended the interests merely of students.

Although the most momentous phase of my subject in this chapter will therefore be those years from the 1750s until the 1780s, the essential problem in the universities was one set by the Copyright Acts, and was accordingly common in some degree to the whole period from 1709 until 1836. I will therefore be setting the shorter phase in the context of that whole period.

The collection of books in St Andrews University Library grew with an increasing rapidity during the eighteenth century, at first as a direct result of the Copyright Acts, later as a result of a changing ideology in the Library which those Acts had their part in prompting. It became clear in the early 1730s that the Library needed a more sophisticated administration to deal with these books. In February of 1734, accordingly, the Senatus introduced twenty-one "Regulations [...] for putting the Library in good order and rightly managing the books".[2] These regulations included a retrieval system of identified book-cases and corresponding catalogues, a more closely controlled arrangement for lending the books, and a library committee, annually elected from the Senatus, to oversee library business.

It is true that these modernisations seem to have been undertaken rather as a final corrective than in preparation for the dynamic future of the institution. The Senatus in fact believed itself, as its minute for these regulations records, to have reformed the Library for "all time coming". It allowed, of course, for new

[2] Quotations in this and the following paragraph are from the Senatus minute which records the new regulations, dated February 20th, 1734: see *Library Bulletin*, vol.I, 1904, p.442-43.

accessions, establishing a procedure for introducing "whatever books may happen to be purchased by, or to be mortified or presented to, the University", but there is no realisation here or elsewhere in the minutes of this time, that book-buying would be the characterising business of the Library's administration. Nor, oddly, is there any mention of the Stationers' Hall books, which were soon to outnumber accessions from all other sources. Indeed, each year's accessions were still being recorded in miscellaneous lists, confirming that there was no sense of the peculiar contribution which the copyright books would be making to the character of the Library.

Nevertheless, the Regulations of 1734 do mark, however insouciantly, the beginning of a new ideology. Within a year the Senatus had introduced annual buying committees (the purchasing "classes"), with members drawn by rotation from the different academic subjects. A specific sum of money was for the first time allocated for each year's purchases: the sum was ten pounds, which was rather more than the unregulated buying hitherto had usually been costing the University. From this time, accordingly, there seems to develop a sense of the Library as a necessarily growing institution, defined as much by its needs as by its holdings. So, later minutes record for instance that "the publick Library wants a great many of the principal French writers" (twenty pounds was to be spent on buying "the best editions thereof"), or that "some new bookes of importance became the subject of general conversation before the Curators had any opertunity of commissioning them" (a special committee was appointed to identify and buy these topical works).[3]

Associated with this development in ideology was an increasing interest in the favourable working of the Copyright Acts. That source of new books had not been much appreciated in earlier years, as I have already noted. But from the late 1730s it was at least

[3] Senatus minutes for November 13th, 1762, and March 14th, 1774: *Library Bulletin*, vol.II, pp.265 and 378.

separately entered in the accession lists, and from the 1760s it was watched and canvassed quite vigorously – an attention which reached its highest pitch in the early nineteenth century, the period when the entitlement fell into jeopardy.[4]

These two developments in library ideology – the notion of the Library as a contemporary book-collector, and the wish to retain and improve its structural relation with the very manufacture of books by means of the copyright entitlement – produced finally at St Andrews the concept of a universal or at least nationally comprehensive collection. The idea first appears publicly there in 1818. In that year, the universities privileged in the Copyright Act were required by Parliament to submit lists of the books which they had claimed under the revised Act of 1814, together with details of the subsequent disposal of those books. St Andrews University included in its return this statement of its policy: "we have conceived it to be our duty to demand and to preserve for the information of future ages every literary production which is not discovered to be of a pernicious tendency."[5] A few years later, the policy was stated in even more absolute form as part of the evidence given to the University Commissioners in 1827: now the Library was to be "a deposit of the state of literature at the time, just as it is" and "to contain all the books that are published, good, bad, and indifferent".[6]

What, then, was the "state of literature" of which the Library would be a "deposit"? Over this same period of ninety or so years, while the University was consciously developing its ambitions as a purchaser and as an archive of contemporary literature, there was of course a corresponding – or indeed far outstripping – enlargement in that literature itself. Already in 1753, one of

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[4] It was challenged in Parliament on behalf of the book trade: see Ardagh, 'St Andrews University Library', pp.191-205.

[5] See *Library Bulletin*, vol. III, p.272. The political background in this period is given in Ardagh, 'St Andrews University Library', pp.195-96.

[6] *Evidence*, vol.III, p.15. The respondent here is the Vice-Rector, Dr George Buist. The first quotation is actually from a question put to him by the Commissioners; Buist accepts the suggestion, and rephrases it in the second quotation.

Samuel Johnson's *Adventurer* papers sees in this literary distension the identifying feature of his times. Having premised that "every age has its peculiar character", he characterises his own thus: "The present age, if we consider chiefly the state of our own country, may be stiled with great propriety The Age of Authors; for, perhaps, there never was a time, in which men of all degrees of ability, of every kind of education, of every profession and employment, were posting with ardour so general to the press."[7] Speaking as "the Adventurer", Johnson affects to be bewildered by this eagerness to write, perversely attempting and failing to explain it according to the old literary economy of patronage. But he was well aware of (and elsewhere articulate about) the true commercial structure of the eighteenth-century literary boom. He had already, in *The Rambler*, ranked himself, as a periodical writer, among "the manufacturers of literature", and his acceptance of the trade economics of writing are well known from Boswell's *Life*.[8] And although it was the supply-side of this new economy that Johnson himself was most intent and eloquent upon – that is, the author's experience of it – it was on the demand-side, as he acknowledged, that the control of literature was largely exercised, whether in determining the immediate success and failure of new writings, or in deciding at length the real value of them.

Johnson pictured in tragi-comic mood the consequences, for the aspiring but dependent writer, of that fatal demand, but for the businessmen of literature it was a more wholly promising state of affairs. One of the most successful of these businessmen, the bookseller James Lackington, describes in his *Memoirs* the literary scene some forty years on from Johnson's 'Age of Authors' paper: "all ranks and degrees now READ", Lackington says, and consequently "the sale of books in general has increased prodigiously". In one well-known passage, he illustrates the point from rustic culture:

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[7] *The Adventurer* no. 115, December 11th, 1753: in *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*, vol.IV, London, 1963, pp.456-57.
[8] *Rambler* no. 145, August 6th, 1751: *Yale Works* vol.V, p.10.

> The poorer sort of farmers, and even the poor country people in general, who before that period [Lackington means about twenty years back] spent their winter evenings in relating stories of witches, ghosts, hobgoblins, & c. now shorten the winter nights by hearing their sons and daughters read tales, romances, & c. and on entering their houses, you may see Tom Jones, Roderick Random, and other entertaining books, stuck up on their bacon-racks &c. If John goes to town with a load of hay, he is charged to be sure not to forget to bring home *Peregrine Pickle's Adventures*; and when Dolly is sent to market to sell her eggs, she is commissioned to purchase *The History of Pamela Andrews*.[9]

There are two points of particular interest here. One is the specifying of the titles, by which Lackington expressly acknowledges the elective power in this new demand for books, a power made conspicuous in this passage by contrast with the generalised folk culture – "stories of witches, ghosts, hobgoblins, & c". The second point is that the sons and daughters are doing the reading. The implication is that the young people (perhaps as the literate members of the family) take the lead in the introduction of this print culture to its new audiences.

Lackington took pleasure in and profit from this development, but it caused consternation in other observers, and in time prompted them to hope to revive or invent an authority in literary culture which would be more wise and discerning than the Young Idea. Novels, such as Lackington shows his young country-people relishing, seemed, just because of that youthful relish, to desiderate with especial urgency that sort of authority. "These books," Johnson wrote in his fourth *Rambler*, "are written chiefly to the young, the ignorant, and the idle, to whom they serve as lectures of conduct, and introductions into life." He cited and supported the

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[9] *Memoirs of the first Forty-five Years of the Life of James Lackington, written by Himself*, London, 1794 (1791), p.243.

opinion that "the highest degree of reverence should be paid to youth, and that nothing indecent should be suffered to approach their eyes or ears".[10]

Johnson does not, however, suggest any means of effecting this discipline. The passive moods of the verbs in the latter quotation are characteristic of the whole essay, picturing as they do a desired result rather than the agency of it. And indeed, Johnson's distrust of literary institutions, and his scepticism as to the value of literary criticism as actually practised, inclined him to vest discriminating authority over literature in the one agency which was powerless to control the contemporary product – namely, time.[11] However, that concern for vulnerable youth which Johnson expresses became, among people with different literary and social ideals, more urgent and more pragmatic.[12] One product of this concern which I will discuss briefly now was the work of the expurgating editor, a class of work pioneered by Harriet Bowdler and her brother Thomas in their *Family Shakespeare* (first published in 1807).

Despite the restriction of scope suggested by the word "Family" in the Bowdlers' title, expurgation of their sort came quickly to be regarded as something more than the special adjustment of literature to the requirements of the young – as, in fact, a pattern of literary improvement in general. The point was made by Francis Jeffrey when he recommended *The Family Shakespeare* in an article for *The Edinburgh Review*: "As what cannot be pronounced in decent company cannot well afford much pleasure in the closet, we think it is better, every way, that what cannot be spoken, and

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[10] *Rambler* no.4, March 31st, 1750: *Yale Works*, vol.III, p.21.

[11] For Johnson's distrust of literary institutions, see Patrick Parrinder, *Authors and Authority*, London, 1991, Chapter I. For his views on criticism, see especially *The Rambler*, numbers 3, 93, 158, and 176, and the portrait of Dick Minim in *The Idler*, numbers 60 and 61.

[12] Some factors in, and manifestations of, this development are discussed in the account of the career of Thomas Bowdler given by his nephew of the same name in *Memoir of the late John Bowdler, to which is added some account of the late Thomas Bowdler*, London, 1825, pp.305-306. For a discussion of the influence in it of the cult of sensibility and of the English evangelical movement, see Noel Perrin, *Dr Bowdler's Legacy*, London, 1970, Chapters I and II.

ought not to have been written, should cease to be printed."[13] It was therefore of general portent to literature that the Bowdlers' model of domestic culture was the opposite of James Lackington's. Whereas Lackington's "sons and daughters" were reading to their parents, now "the parents and guardians of youth [...] read the FAMILY SHAKESPEARE aloud in the mixed society of young persons of both sexes".[14] The Bowdlers saw their function as effecting in print those excisions which, before 1807, fathers like Mr Bowdler senior had applied as they read. In this sense at least, the Bowdlers were entrepreneurs alongside Lackington in the transformation from oral to printed culture. But whereas Lackington was content to accept the economics of publishing as the arbiter of the press, the Bowdlers wished to impose a constituted authority – the father, the guardian, the teacher, or even just the "gentleman".[15]

From 1770 to 1771, Thomas Bowdler had been a pupil, at St Andrews University, of Robert Watson. I do not mean to trace Watson's influence directly forward to *The Family Shakespeare*: at any rate, it was not Watson who introduced Bowdler to literature and its perils. In 1769, the year before Bowdler's matriculation at the age of sixteen, his mother Elizabeth had written a paraphrase of the Song of Solomon; it was published in Edinburgh in 1785, with a preface which states that the purpose of the venture was to correct the falsely indecent impression given of that poetry by Bishop Percy's recent translation. In the course of her study of the Song, Elizabeth Bowdler deplores the miscellaneous reading allowed to young people, and expresses the opinion that "a modern education seems calculated to add strength to the corruption of mankind".[16] Undoubtedly Thomas Bowdler came to St Andrews already convinced of the ethical bearing of literature; probably the

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[13] *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1821: vol.XXXVI, Edinburgh, 1822, pp.52-54 (p.53).
[14] From 'Preface to the Fourth Edition', *The Family Shakespeare*, London, 1827, vol.I, p.viii.
[15] In the successive prefaces, these different models of authority are all specified, the protected parties being the young and/or women.
[16] *The Song of Solomon Paraphrased*, Edinburgh, 1785, p.8.

Bowdlers had chosen St Andrews University, or more generally the Scottish universities (Thomas Bowdler went on to study Medicine at Edinburgh), in grateful awareness of those moral advantages which (as I have mentioned in the previous chapter) were commonly believed to distinguish the Scottish from the English universities.

However, if Watson did not found Bowdler's literary thinking, there is a common tradition here. Elizabeth Bowdler included, in that process of corruption in youth which she deplored, those impure ideas which "may be forced upon a young mind, by novels and indecent plays".[17] A clear continuity, in this concern for the susceptibility of youth and for the tutor-supplanting powers of print, runs from Johnson's *Rambler* paper through to Watson and the Bowdlers. Watson was certainly a reader of *The Rambler*; he cites it in his lectures (unfavourably as to style). It does not appear in his University borrowings, but probably he owned the series in some form. A readily available Edinburgh edition had begun to appear serially in June, 1750, judiciously promoted as written "after the manner of the SPECTATOR, in a variety of moral and critical essays".[18] But the papers were, besides, frequently reprinted in whole or part in Scottish periodicals. Number 4 in particular, the one from which I have quoted and whose account of the significance of the novel seems to underlie Watson's theory of imitative passion, appeared complete in the next issue of *The Scots Magazine*.[19] Thomas Bowdler, the pupil of Watson and later a friend of Johnson (whom even in 1823 he refers to as "the Rambler")[20] provided, in his *Family Shakespeare*, one solution to the problem of literary custodianship which both Johnson and Watson had raised. Neither of them had expressly offered a solution, but Watson's course in literature, which Bowdler joined

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[17] *The Song of Solomon Paraphrased*, p.4

[18] This publishing enterprise of James Elphinston is described by C.B.Bradford in 'The Edinburgh Ramblers', *Modern Language Review*, vol.XXXIV, 1939, pp.241-44.

[19] That is, the issue for April, 1750: vol.XII, pp.161-64.

[20] Thomas Bowdler, *A Letter to the Editor of the British Critic*, London, 1823.

in his first year at St Andrews, may well have suggested itself as such to a youth from England who was encountering the formal teaching of modern literature for the first time. Here was a paternalistic institution instructing youth in the purpose and value of literature, and attempting to make a science and an ethic for the imagination – that "dangerous faculty" which his mother had written about.[21] Bowdler's *Family Shakespeare* might be seen, then, as a drastic and literal-minded execution of Watson's thinking.

Probably neither man would have recognised it as that, but the continuity between them, such as it was, makes a point about the Scottish teaching of Rhetoric in Watson's time which is of great importance. It introduced young people to contemporary literature in just those circumstances of institutionalised authority which made the introduction also a disciplinary technique (and a technique which, like Bowdler's of the future, had implications for the whole readership, not only the young). In order to appreciate this interpretation of Scottish Rhetoric, it will be useful to look again at the management of the Library at St Andrews, and to observe in what way the pastoral and educational interests of the students were related to that institution's growth towards a notional completeness. For that relation was the local and immediate instance of the larger relationship between youth and the printing press.

Student access to the Library's books was controlled by four principal means, all of them introduced or at least formalised in the regulations of 1734 which I have already mentioned. Most fundamentally, the hours of opening were limited, initially to two morning hours on all teaching days (which included Saturdays), with two additional afternoon hours on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. This was no doubt primarily an administrative matter, but it could be made responsive to educational values, as we shall see, and responsive in that sense or not it did affect the use of the

[21] *The Song of Solomon Paraphrased*, p.36.

Library by students. Secondly, a student in the Library was not supposed to have access to the book-shelves, but to "demand what book he may want from the Library Keeper, and wait till he receives it at his hands".[22] This rule again had an administrative purpose which shaded into the pastoral. It was designed to prevent what, as one librarian's complaint shows, did nevertheless continue to happen: this librarian (James Angus) said that "several students, notwithstanding of laws to the contrary, came in together, went to several presses at the same time and took out books, and [...] he had reason to suspect some were clandestinely carried away".[23] Students who were undecided about what to borrow were supposed, therefore, to make their decisions from the catalogues. However, a third regulation further controlled their choice of book by requiring that every borrowing be authorised by "a special line from some one Principal or Professor mentioning the particular book".[24] A few of these "lines" survive on slips of paper in the Receipt Books, but it is evident from references in later reviews of library administration that the practice lapsed for considerable stretches of time; it was perhaps strictly used only in the period 1747 to 1752, when the name of the authoriser was being entered with each loan in the Receipt Book. But here, at least in principle, was a system of direct supervision over student reading, and its purpose was clearly of a general pastoral kind, rather than academic, since a professor was not required to have any teaching interest in the books that he authorised.

A fourth means of controlling student access to the books was the confining of certain books to the Library. A revision of library rules drawn up in 1753 lists the sorts of book which were not then to be lent out: "dictionaries and grammars of any kind, folio systems of geography, manuscripts, large anatomical books, Mr Hutcheson's present of books, commentaries and criticks on the Bible, except to students of divinity, books that are taught in any of the classes, nor

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[22] Regulations as recorded on February 20th, 1734: *Library Bulletin*, vol.I, p.445.
[23] Senatus minute dated December 21st, 1743: *Library Bulletin*, vol.II, p.64.
[24] Regulations: *Library Bulletin*, vol.I, p.444.

the best copie or edition of a book, if there be other copies in the Library; and this beside what other particular books the several classes of the Curatores shall order from time to time not to be lent out."[25] These "classes" were the purchasing committees which I have mentioned, and their orders in this connection would presumably have referred to the short-term reservation of new books for general inspection.

Clearly the regulations which I have recorded here were principally concerned with the efficient running of the Library and of the University's teaching. In addition, they reflect the growing sense of the Library as a repository of the literature of the day, within which the student resource had to be defined as a sub-section, limited by prohibitions of the sort specified in 1753. But there seems as yet to have been no explicit concern about books considered improper in themselves for young people.

The division of interest between literary repository and student resource had become much more marked by the end of the copyright period, and the devices of separation correspondingly more rigorous. The hours of student access were reduced. By the 1820s, there were six such hours a week only, compared to the eighteen allotted in 1734 (which was in its turn a reduction from about 24 hours a week available in 1642). During these shorter times, students were not permitted to use the Library for study.[26] Their browsing had been more effectively disciplined by the locking of the presses (an idea first mooted in 1744), though a report of 1817 suggests that even this device was circumventible.[27] The "lines" system, for a long time half-heartedly observed, had largely given way to the personal authority of the Librarian, who since 1788 had been appointed from the University's own professoriate (a change which was itself apparently made in the interests of discipline).[28] Lines were still used for some books which

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[25] Regulations recorded on December 11th, 1753: *Library Bulletin*, vol.II, pp.226-27.
[26] See *Evidence*, vol.III, p.21, and *Library Bulletin*, vol.V, p.66.
[27] George Hill reported that "we have seen all the keys, above and below stairs, occupied by persons rummaging for books" (*Library Bulletin*, vol.V, p.483).
[28] See *Evidence*, vol.III, p.139.

the Librarian would otherwise forbid. In the evidence given to the University Commissioners in 1827, the most commonly mentioned books in that category are novels. The Librarian of that time, James Hunter, who was also the professor responsible for Rhetoric, considered that "novels and such like" would not be expected to play a part in university education, though they might be borrowed by townspeople and professors' friends.[29] His assistant, the local minister William Merson, specifies the novels of Walter Scott as forbidden to the Arts student, "unless he chanced to be further advanced in life than the generality of the Students at the College".[30] Further yet from the reach of students are "some books which we do not think it proper that they should see at all": Professor Hunter instances *The Memoirs of Harriet Wilson*.[31]

It is not possible to assert simply that the recourse to censorship, understood as a protection of the young person, steadily gathered support during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As I have said, prohibitions of various sorts were partly a necessary by-product of a different ideal which certainly was establishing itself during that period: the ideal of the complete library. Hunter's Library did, after all, hold on even to its "extremely improper" books, including, it seems, Harriet Wilson's *Memoirs*, whereas an earlier librarian or Library committee, at last recognising *The Memoirs of Sally Salisbury* for what it was, removed it and amended its catalogue entry "Infamous book destroyed".[32] So this ideal of the complete library may at least partly explain the progressive use of library disciplines to limit student access to the Library.[33]

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[29] *Evidence*, vol.III, p.24.
[30] *Evidence*, vol.III, p.27.
[31] *Evidence*, vol.III, p.21. Harriet Wilson was a prostitute in Regency times.
[32] *Evidence*, vol.III, p.25. For *Sally Salisbury*, see Press Catalogue, 1779-1796, St Andrews University Library MS LY105/10, p.226. The action must have been taken before 1796; probably it was taken in May, 1783, when a student borrowed the book and it therefore came under the Librarian's notice.
[33] This limiting of student access puzzled and preoccupied the Commissioners, who repeatedly pressed the matter in their questions and elicited, incidentally, the information that the students themselves had by then complained about it: see *Evidence*, vol.III, p.27.

Nevertheless, it is true that, merely as a pedagogic issue, reading had fallen under a stricter discipline by this time than had been used seventy or so years earlier, and in particular the reading of fiction. In so far as the surviving evidence for this development comes from the report of the University Commissioners, we may largely attribute it to the attitude of one man who was in charge of the Library at the time of their visit. James Hunter, being both Librarian and Professor of Rhetoric, no doubt administered the Library in a way that reflected his literary values. These, it seems, favoured classical rather than modern literature.[34] His teaching of literature was evidently not as enterprising as that of his predecessors, Watson and Barron, had been: he seems to have relied heavily on the printed lectures of Hugh Blair.[35] Nor was he himself apparently an adventurous reader. A count of professorial borrowing for the year 1826-27 shows Professor Hunter taking out fewer books than anyone else except Thomas Jackson, the Professor of Natural Philosophy.[36] For James Hunter, concern about the influence upon young people of vernacular literature seems to have prompted the somewhat negative solution supplied by censorship, and it was the genre most productive of that concern, the novel, which he and his assistant were most active to withhold from youthful readers.

If, however, James Hunter's professorship did involve a decline of energy in his subject, that was not wholly a local and personal phenomenon. According to the University Commissioners, the same thing was happening at Edinburgh, both in literary studies

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[34] See John Hunter, 'Six Generations of a St Andrews Family', in *St Andrews Preservation Trust Annual Report and Year Book*, 1994, pp.20-28 (p.23). The source for this characterisation of James Hunter's literary tastes and teaching is his one-time pupil Charles Rogers, in *A Century of Scottish Life*, Edinburgh, 1871, p.69.

[35] Evidence for this will appear later in the chapter.

[36] *Evidence*, vol.III, pp.265-66. An adjacent set of statistics for the same year shows that Hunter lent out more books in his name to outsiders ("literary men &c") than any other professor. Perhaps that was a reflection of the sociability which Charles Rogers also remembers, perhaps of Hunter's concept of the Library as a genteel social institution as much as a pedagogic institution, but it may simply have been that the Librarian was necessarily the person to whom such requests for loans were most often made.

and in the management of the library there. They did not admire Hugh Blair's legacy as they found it in the 1820s. The subject of Rhetoric had gained its independence, they concluded, "under the influence of accidental circumstances" (perhaps they meant Blair's own eminence, perhaps more generally the elocution movement of the mid-century in Edinburgh), and they recommended its re-absorption into Logic.[37] This decline in university literary studies, in so far as it is separable from the general loss of vitality in the Scottish universities, was probably of external origin, a consequence of the revival of evangelical Presbyterianism, and the failure of sympathy for secular literature which that entailed. Very much the same causes were operative in England – the evangelical movement throwing secular literature under suspicion, and prompting varieties of censorship (the Bowdlers themselves were evangelicals). It was natural, therefore, for Scottish professors in this later period to regard the earlier times as regrettably lax: Principal John Hunter, for instance, speaking of the relative religious freedom enjoyed by students under Robert Watson's principalship, drily observes, "That was supposed to be agreeable to the liberal ideas of the time."[38]

However, I have shown that the evangelicals' concern for purity in literature was not new: in particular, that Robert Watson's own theory of literature attributed to it a moral power which necessarily aroused anxiety. Indeed, I wish to argue now that the teaching of modern literature to students was in fact a project of cultural control much more ambitious than anything that mere library regulations could accomplish, and that this project did not in fact lapse with the decline in literary studies: the fallow time caught in the Commissioners' evidence was an interruption only in the success of that project. Samuel Johnson, pondering upon the promise and the danger in the new fiction, had not proposed trusting any constituted authority to control it, but Robert Watson

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[37] *Report made to his Majesty by a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the State of the Universities of Scotland*, p.44.
[38] *Evidence*, vol.III, p.43.

was pondering the same issue at the same period in the character of just such an authority: that of a state-endowed professor of literature. It is not possible to put capital letters to that title, of course; Watson's appointed subject was Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics, not simply literature. The first British professor whose title identified him exclusively as a literary critic was Hugh Blair. But Watson belongs with Blair as co-founder of the first and arguably the only British institution for the supervision of literature. The origins, character, and ideology of this institution I will now discuss.

The thinking and the arranging which culminated in Hugh Blair's professorship is commonly traced back to the lectures which Adam Smith gave to an Edinburgh audience in 1748-49. There is certainly a sound genealogy there, but there was a significant hiatus between the lectures which Smith gave and those of his successor Robert Watson: not just a hiatus of several years in time,[39] but a break in thinking, for the lectures of Watson and Blair had, as I will show later in this chapter, a rather different ideology. The ideological difference seems to have arisen out of important literary events which took place before and during the later lecture courses.

The first of these events was the promotion and staging of John Home's play *Douglas*. The story has been often told, and I will only identify those aspects of it which seem to have prepared for and advanced the idea of a literary institution.[40] The taking-up of *Douglas* by the Edinburgh literati had as its first objective, and as its ultimate triumph, the production of the play before a London audience. This was, therefore, a sponsorship of British literature (though the patriotic Scottish interest was obvious enough); only if we interpret it in this way can we wholly understand the use which I will suggest that Blair subsequently made of it. It was with a view to London, then, that Blair and others studied, criticised, and

[39] See footnote 59, below.

[40] My principal sources are Alexander Carlyle, *Autobiography*, Chapter VIII, and Sher, *Church and University*, pp.74-92.

revised the manuscript of *Douglas* in 1754.[41] They were not then successful; David Garrick again refused the play. Still with London as the objective, it was proposed to stage the play first in Edinburgh. In the preparations for that production, Hugh Blair was again active – among other things, taking part in a presentational reading of the play to a group of persons important to its success, including Lord Milton and the actress Mrs Ward. The production in Edinburgh followed in a few weeks. The London production came on three months after that.

In Edinburgh, the play at once became the focus for a bitter debate within the Church as to the morality of theatre and theatre-going. The immediate issue, which came before the Assembly itself in May, 1757, was the conduct of Alexander Carlyle, whose presbytery (Dalkieth) had issued a "libel" against him – not for seeing the play only, but also for "attending the rehearsal [...] and assisting or directing the players on that occasion".[42] In the event, the Assembly's mild censure of Carlyle's actions, and its refusal to deny theatre-going outright to all Church members, was recognised by both parties in the Church as a victory for the liberals. As Richard Sher says of this result, "It signified, in short, the triumph of the Moderate ideal of a polite ministry leading Scotland down the path to enlightenment."[43]

The course of events just described seems to propose a model of the author, in this "Age of Authors", rather different from that half-heroic, half-absurd solitary whom Johnson pictures in his periodicals, either tossed between the flattery and the calumny of prejudiced critics, or becalmed in struggling obscurity. Instead, it casts the author as the product and protégé of a literary community. At the same time, it in fact helped to create and to signal such a community in Scotland, the one which Sher identifies as the "polite ministry". Not that all those who had promoted *Douglas* were in fact ministers or even Church members. David Hume and

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[41] Sher, *Church and University*, p.75.
[42] Sher, *Church and University*, p.82.
[43] Sher, *Church and University*, p.86.

Henry Home (Lord Kames), for instance, notoriously were not. But it was the Church which had nursed the author (John Home was a minister), which had made the value of the play a momentous issue, and which had then, however reluctantly and ambivalently, pronounced for the nation upon it in the General Assembly. In this way, it had effectively acted as a literary academy, mediating between author and nation by interesting itself in the literary welfare of both.

A few years later, another product of Scottish culture, James Macpherson's Ossianic poetry, enjoyed a similar campaign of patronage both before and after its appearances in print, and Hugh Blair was now the leader. His *Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian* became at once the standard apology for the authenticity and literary value of the poems (it was subsequently printed as an appendix to the poetry itself).[44] Blair was by now Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres at Edinburgh University. The *Dissertation* had in fact made its first appearance in the form of a university lecture, one in the course of lectures which the polity or the state (at first Edinburgh Town Council, and then the King) had endorsed by endowing the Chair. Here indeed was, in rudimentary form, something like the voice of a national academy.

This background, in the *Douglas* and the Ossian promotions, and in Blair's career, re-appears in the *Dissertation* as Ossian's own setting, the setting with which Blair explains the unique merit of Ossian's poetry. For very early in the *Dissertation*, Blair has to address the "curious point" which was indeed the great and fatal question about Ossian: how were the "delicacy of sentiment" and the "amazing degree of regularity and art" which Ossian shows compatible with the nature of life and thought in primitive times as commonly understood, and indeed as evidenced in other literature?[45] There are several parts to Blair's explanation, but the

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[44] London, 1763. A copy was bought for St Andrews University Library in the year of publication by Robert Watson's "class" (Curators' Reports, p.55).

[45] *A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal*, in *The Poems of Ossian*, translated by James Macpherson, Edinburgh, 1792, p.374 (using the facsimile edition: Poole, 1996).

basis of it which he proposes first is this: that the Celtic people to which Ossian belonged had institutionalised, in "a formed system of discipline and manners", just those things – art and sensibility – which made Ossian a great poet. Blair accounts for this "system" using some evidence from the ancient historians, but his interpretation bears the impress of his recent experience in the *Douglas* campaign. The officers of the "system" were the Druids and Bards, "the institution of which two orders, was the capital distinction of their [the Celtic people's] manners and policy". "The Druids", Blair explains, "were their philosophers and priests; the Bards, their poets and recorders of heroic actions". Restating this division of labour, Blair shows that he pictured the "two orders" as really making one institution, a sort of academy which secured the literary tradition. The Druids "lived together in colleges or societies [...] and philosophising upon the highest subjects, asserted the immortality of the soul". The Bards, "who, it is probable, were the disciples of the Druids" and who belonged to the same "whole college or order", had as their "office [...] to sing in heroic verse, the gallant actions of illustrious men".[46]

We may recognise in this passage of cultural history, which Blair admits is somewhat conjectural, a glamourised reconstruction of the *Douglas* enterprise. A priestly order devotes itself, as the moderates had, to the philosophy of virtue as it could be derived from religion, and passes it down to disciple-poets, whose business is to cast it into emulable form. The likeness is partial, of course. John Home was, as a young minister, indeed a "disciple" of the hierarchy, but there was no literary order for him to belong to where the art of recording "heroic actions" was separately studied: the whole operation was going on within one order, exactly that "polite ministry" to which Richard Sher refers. But that phrase reminds us that the one order was really the bringing together of two traditions, religious and literary. And a like homogenisation had evidently taken place among the Celts themselves, according

[46] *Dissertation*, pp.375-76.

to Blair. By Ossianic times, "the order of the Druids was extinct, and the national religion altered". Hence that absence, in the poetry, of "religious ideas" which Blair later notes with regret as "a sensible blank".[47] But he makes it clear that those origins in the Druidical collegiate system were what established for the Celtic poets their characteristic status "not as a set of strolling songsters, like the Greek Aoidoi or Raphsodists [sic], in Homer's time, but as an order of men highly respected in the state, and supported by a public establishment".[48] Having effected that much, the Druidical order could wither without bringing down the rest, if not without loss.

Whatever the exact configuration, in the past or in the present, of these elements in the disciplined production of poetry, there are certain essentials in Blair's ideology which we may now identify. It posited a more or less unitary "philosophy", guiding the attentions of writers, and supplying them with their "highest subjects". It based that unity of thought on a political sub-structure, not just the collegiate institution but the state which sponsored the college as a "public establishment". Above all – and quite contrary to the model of literature which Johnson entertained – it was an ideology of production. Blair was interested in the control of literature at source rather than at market. Therefore his governing institutions of literature were caste-like assemblages of thinkers and writers, rather than those commercial conformations which had in reality been the characteristic entrepreneurs and machines of literary expansion in the eighteenth century: the publishers' congers, the circulating libraries, serialisations, subscription lists, and so on. We can see the two ideologies represented in the discussion about composition which Boswell reports between Dr Johnson and Robert Watson in St Andrews: Watson is concerned with "attention to accuracy", the absolute obligation of the writer to his task; Johnson with "*necessity*", the demand, of whatever kind, to which the writer is responding. Watson's exemplum is the sermon

[47] *Dissertation*, pp.376 and 404.
[48] *Dissertation*, p.376.

which Blair took a week to compose; Johnson's is the sermon which he himself began writing "after dinner and sent [...] off by the post that night".[49]

As I imply here, Watson shared the concept of literary production which Blair promoted in his *Critical Dissertation* (he was indeed Blair's forerunner in its practical effectuation, as I shall be arguing below). Both men belonged to the moderate party in the Church, and one of the defining policies of that party was the maintenance of patronage, as against parochial "calls", in the appointment of ministers, and with that the maintenance of the authority of the General Assembly as against local conscience. We have been noticing in this chapter (as in the second chapter) how religious and literary cultures were being assimilated under the hegemony of the moderates. Here, in an ideology of institutionalised authorship free of readership-election, we may be encountering another instance. It was quite natural that Robert Watson should choose, for his instance of composition, the sermon: although religion was yielding ground to secular culture in many respects, its paradigms conditioned much of the new thinking about that culture. I will return to this point later.

The early histories of *Douglas* and the Ossian poetry intervened in the succession of Edinburgh lectures from Adam Smith to Hugh Blair, and I have suggested that the lessons about literary production which those histories taught were incorporated into that model of institutionalised literature which Blair then conjectured as a setting for Ossian. He did not, of course, ever argue that the Druids and Bards should or could be revived as such in a modern commercial setting. Indeed, it was perhaps the most notable reform effected by the Scottish rhetoricians, and one which Blair himself made explicit from the start of his lectures, that they incorporated the reader, the consumer of literature, into the subject's purview (admittedly a reader who was himself under reform in the Druidical interest). Still, the ideal of supply-side institutions of literature, national in interest and devoted to the cultivation of the highest values

[49] *Journal*, pp.35-36 (italics as in that text).

in thought and art, was one which Hugh Blair did not intend to leave inert and historical. He was indeed already realising it in his own work as a university teacher. For there, the caste element of "orders" and "societies", the initiation into a tradition (this is the nature of the continuity for both Druids and Bards), the "public establishment", were being converted into their peculiar modern guise – the guise of a profession. It was not indeed a profession either of priests or writers, but one which stood between the two, cultivating a tradition both philosophical (Druidical) and artistic (Bardic), and creating a discipline to which, it was hoped, writers and readers equally would be obedient. It is this eighteenth-century realisation of Blair's Celtic model of literature that I will now consider. I will study in particular the Edinburgh lectures which culminated in the appointment of Hugh Blair (who already occupied what was conventionally regarded as the highest position in the Church of Scotland) to the post which more or less invented the institution which it headed, the post of Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres.

The Edinburgh lectures did not, of course, invent the literary critic. Whatever the date of birth we may choose to give to that figure, he was sufficiently matured by the mid-eighteenth century to be regarded as a distinct form of life – as described, for instance, in the person of Johnson's Dick Minim.[50] Nor did they originate criticism as paid work. Dick Minim was seeking position not money, but Johnson himself was making his living by literature, and an increasing part of it from critical studies: his *Life of Savage* and his *Observations on 'Macbeth'*, for instance, were publications of the 1740s. The novelty in Blair's professorship was that a man was now being provided with English Literature (the field of study) as an assured living and a status – that is, given a salary and a title qualifying him to dispense it as a continuing service instead of offering it for sale as a trader in some region of Grub Street.[51] In this

[50] *Idler*, numbers 60 and 61, June 9th and June 16th, 1759: *Yale Works*, vol.II, pp.184-193.

[51] In Chapter I of his book *Institutionalising English Literature* (Stanford, 1992),

metamorphosis, English Literature had become a profession.

Before defining the term "profession", I will concede that it does not provide a comprehensive or exceptionless description of English Literature as an academic occupation then or since (in fact, perhaps only the Roman Catholic priesthood has ever been completely a profession in any strict definition of the term). It might be argued, for instance, that English Literature is really a specialism within the profession of university teaching or even of teaching of all kinds. Certainly a profession which can accommodate both the venerated Hugh Blair and the miserable private tutor of Cowper's roughly contemporary poem *Tirocinium,* a drudge whom we encountered in the previous chapter, does not provide a helpful socio-political category. And in the case of the Scottish lecturers, we have to put aside their most public and perhaps most conscious motive – the fitting of Scottish talent, and of Scottish culture as a whole, for British advancement – if we are to concentrate upon their work in its character as profession-making. But a profession of some sort they did make, one that has been growing ever since in Britain and abroad, and they could not have achieved what they did, in personal and public advantages, had they not made the teaching of English Literature a dignified and protected occupation. It is in fact necessary to our complete understanding of the origins of modern English studies to consider their history in this way, as well as in others.

I have called this profession of English Literature, which the Scottish lecturers created, "a dignified and protected

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Franklin Court vigorously attacks Hugh Blair's version of literary studies as essentially elitist. Later, in his 'Afterword', he speaks of academics like himself as being "privileged to teach". There is, of course, no "privilege" in Grub Street: privilege in Court's sense is the product of professionalisation, the defining and empowering of a service so that only an elite shall practice (and indeed define) it. It was this privilege which Blair founded. Franklin Court does not sufficently recognise that all the varieties of literary study which he reviews, favourably and unfavourably, in his book, have alike depended and still do depend on Blair's achievement as an elite-maker: namely, the turning of such studies into one professional territory, in which those elected to it may securely argue over what service to provide the people at the people's expense. This point will become clearer in the immediately ensuing discussion.

occupation". That is a loose summary of the nature of a profession, and I will now define it more precisely. It is easy to see that what we commonly do call professions share certain features: internally controlled recruitment, a corpus of specialised knowledge, institutional structures of various kinds (colleges, institutes, journals, registers, etc.), and a system of titles and honours which reflect or prompt public respect (most of these features, it will be noticed, appear in Blair's account of the "college" of Druids and Bards). But these are only the signs of a more essential characteristic which some privileged occupations have or tend towards having, and which can be used as the identifying concept for professionalism. This characteristic concerns the source of authority in the work of a profession. As one writer on the subject, Terence Johnson, expresses it, "a profession is not a peculiar type of occupation, but an occupation having a peculiar type of control", a type of control in which "the producer defines the needs of the consumer and the manner in which these needs are catered for".[52]

The decisive effect of this definition can be observed in the way it cuts out Cowper's private tutor, wholly at the mercy of his paying consumer as he is.[53] It also excludes the Grub Street critic, however successful. The Scottish critic and miscellaneous writer William Guthrie called himself "the oldest author by profession in Britain", but he was not in a profession as here defined, for he was a servant to his public, prosperous only in so far as he satisfied their taste in reading matter, and even that satisfaction he could only give through the agency of middle-men – publishers, printers, and booksellers – all of them further qualifying his modest power as a producer.[54] By contrast to these two, we may take Hugh Blair as a

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[52] Terence Johnson, *Professions and Power*, London, 1972, p.45.

[53] Johnson's *Rambler* papers 109, 132, 194 and 195 show other private tutors similarly cramped and disabled by their employers. We have noticed yet others in Chapter III.

[54] Letter of 1767 to the Earl of Buchan, quoted in *Blackie's Biographical Dictionary*, 3 vols, 1869-72, vol.II, 1872, p.188. By "oldest", Guthrie presumably

paradigm of the professional, and he seems to have become so instantaneously with his appointment to the new chair. It was Blair who stipulated, in discussions with Edinburgh Town Council which administered the University, how he was to be paid (a combination of fixed salary and student fees). He also chose the title of his chair, and by adding the new term "Belles Lettres" (he said that it gave the professorship "a more modern air") to the traditional "Rhetoric" he effectively announced and institutionalised the new subject on which Adam Smith, Watson, and he himself had been lecturing.[55] The focus of this subject was now upon Taste (whose significance I will be touching on later), and Blair began his lectures by defining that term. While recognising its partly intuitive character, he insisted that it might be "improved by science and philosophy", and he thereby established both the desideratum and the means of supplying it.[56] In all these ways, Blair did indeed define both the needs of the consumer and the manner in which those needs were to be catered for.

In the event, Hugh Blair's lectures, first published in 1783, provided the core of university English Literature in Britain and in the United States for more than fifty years, and a contribution of some sort for over a century, so that he really did largely create the subject in its early form. That one man's influence was so great does perhaps distort the picture for us: it is not easy to say how much of the subject's status belonged to and was controlled by the profession, and how much was the reflection of Blair's personal prestige. I have mentioned that English studies at St Andrews stagnated somewhat under the supervision of James Hunter, the successor to William Barron in the early nineteenth century, but student marginalia in the St Andrews University's copies of Blair's

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meant that he had been at it longest of those living, but perhaps also that he had been the first of the kind. Johnson uses the phrase "professors of literature" as part of Hypertatus' "theory of a garret" in *The Rambler*, no. 117: i.e. he uses it with playful irony.

[55] Sher, *Church and University*, pp.115-16.

[56] *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, vol.I, p.42.

lectures suggest that Blair continued to be lionised for the students during all this period.[57] These marginalia are more than usually numerous, and they show an acute, perhaps an exasperated, sense of the author as a personality. In general, personal references written in library books by St Andrews students during the copyright period refer either to other students or (especially in William Vilant's time) to the Librarian.[58] But here, it is the author who is the cynosure. "Well done Blair", "Hugh Blair is a fine fellow", "very well indeed Hugh Blair, a fine description of taste", "Blair thou makest good remarks", etc.: the irony detectable in this praise suggests that there had been some over-emphasis upon Blair's authority in the Rhetoric classes at St Andrews. But perhaps after all it is not a crucial question where precisely the prestige of a professional service is located, provided it is on the producer's side. Blair's great personal prestige was important in securing English Literature as a subject (it is significant in this connection that the latest edition of Blair's lectures was prepared, in 1845, by Thomas Dale, the man who had been the first Professor of English Literature in England). And in thus securing English Literature, Blair also characterised its occupational form – a form which combined the heroic individualism of the man of letters, as defined and practised by Samuel Johnson, with the institutional independence and continuity of the Druidical model. Blair was indeed a colossus for a time, but others could occupy the place he designed without altering the essential structure of English Literature at the universities.

However, if the Edinburgh lectures did produce this first professional critic in Hugh Blair, it was not by a steadily progressive construction of the subject and its personnel. The first of the three lecturers, Adam Smith, in fact purposefully discredited just those notions of literature and taste which tended to make a professional property of them.[59] Most conspicuously at the time, he made fun of

[57] Names and dates written in margins go as far as the 1840s.
[58] I make a more extensive study of marginalia in Chapter VI.
[59] Adam Smith lectured to the Edinburgh audience from 1748 until 1751, when he

the traditional Rhetoric still to some extent taught as such in the Scottish universities, the subject out of which English Literature was growing. Certainly that subject, essentially concerned with the art of public speaking, had to be relegated if a form of literary studies suited to modern printed literature was to develop. But Smith did not just relegate Rhetoric: he relegated the whole idea of artistry in language, replacing it with the concept of a functional, co-operative communication in which producer and consumer are something like equals.

In this approach, Adam Smith was going against a national tendency. It was not only that the Scots in his Edinburgh audience must have respected Rhetoric as an ancient subject, one which they themselves had been taught. It was also the case that in their pursuit of polite English they inclined to prefer its least demotic upper reaches. The result was being caricatured on the London stage at about this time in the person of Donald, the prize pupil in Samuel Foote's *The Orators*, in whose language Latinate diction ("argumentation") mixes with a betraying Scots ("bairns").[60] Adam Smith now likewise suggests to his countrymen that the admiration which they feel for the high style in prose is the product not of literary taste, but of fear of their own vernacular:

> We in this country are most of us very sensible that the perfection of language is very different from that we commonly speak in. The idea we form of a good stile is almost conterary [sic] to that which we generally hear. Hence it is that we conceive the farther ones stile is

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became Professor of Logic and Rhetoric at Glasgow University. The work in Edinburgh was resumed in the winter of 1755 by Robert Watson, who had recently completed his studies at St Andrews (see *Scots Magazine*, vol.XXI, December, 1759, p.669). Watson was recalled to St Andrews as Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics in 1756. After the next hiatus, the lecturing in Edinburgh continued, now under the auspices of the University, in 1759. The new lecturer was Hugh Blair, who in 1760 was appointed Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres at Edinburgh University. Adam Smith's lectures survive (with the exception of the first of them) in the form in which they were subsequently recorded by a student at Glasgow University. I quote from the edition by J.C. Bryce, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, Oxford, 1983.

[60] *Supplement to Bell's British Theatre*, 4 vols, London, 1784 (1762), vol.IV, pp.236 and 238.

> removed from the common manner it is so much the nearer to purity and the perfection we have in view.[61]

Traditional Rhetoric, Smith argues, has been based on this same preference for conspicuous artifice. Its teachers have made "tropes and figures of speech" the primary materials of fine writing: "These are what are generally conceived to give the chief beauty and elegance to language." He defines these figures again with reference to language as glamour: "Whatever is sublime and out of the common way is called a figure of speech." And yet, he tells this polite and aspiring audience,

> there is nowhere more use made of figures than in the lowest and most vulgar conversation. The Billingsgate language is full of it. Sancho Panca, and people of his stamp who speak in proverbs, always abound in figures.[62]

Smith confirms what must have been a potently discrediting critique by quoting two of "the most beautiful passages in all Pope's works" and showing that "In the latter of these there is not any one figurative expression, and the few there are in the other are no advantage to it". The works of Rhetoric, ancient and modern, which have founded their instruction on these figures and tropes are therefore necessarily, Smith concludes, "a very silly set of Books and not at all instructive".[63]

Adam Smith gives his own definition of good writing as follows:

> When the sentiment of the speaker is expressed in a neat, clear, plain and clever manner, and the passion or affection he is possessed of and intends, by sympathy, to communicate to his hearer, is plainly and cleverly hit off, then and then only the expression has all the force and beauty that language can give it. It matters not the least whether the figures of speech are introduced or

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[61] *Lectures*, p.42.
[62] *Lectures*, pp.25 and 34.
[63] *Lectures*, pp.23-24, and 26.

not.[64]

This is not quite as truistical as at first it seems. Smith's definition ignores self-sufficient merit in style, and directs attention to the process of exchange in language: the meaning of the speaker, his "sentiment" and "passion or affection", passes by way of "expression" to the "hearer", whose part in the traffic is implied in the words "sympathy" (underlined in the student record), "clear", "plain", and "force", the whole operation characterised in the word "communicate". The person spoken to, in this model of discourse, is not an invisible spectator of an art, then, but the counterpart and test of the value of speaking.

The writer most often presented as a pattern in these lectures is Jonathan Swift, exponent of "a plain stile" and "so far from studying the ornaments of language that he affects to leave them out even when naturall". Swift's style, we find, "makes us read his works with more life and emphasis".[65] By contrast, the poet James Thomson "seems to be very faulty in this respect of Expressing ever too much and more than he felt"; Smith quotes some lines from 'Spring', and comments "These lines which I believe few understand are generally admired and I believe because few take the pains to consider the authors reall meaning or the significance of the severall expressions, but are astonished at these pompous sounding expressions."[66] Here, language is no longer a medium of exchange but a form of showmanship, an abuse in which the reader conspires by his readiness to admire as a spectator.

The suspicion of this type of conspiracy perhaps affected Adam Smith's attitude to poetry as a whole. Certainly he gives it little specific attention: only one lecture out of the thirty is devoted exclusively to poetry. He does recognise the artistry and power of poetry, but his fundamental theme, that language is communication not art, necessarily relegates it, for it is exactly

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[64] *Lectures*, p.25.

[65] *Lectures*, p.38. Swift is also especially admired and recommended by Watson and Blair, but in discussing the plain style they think rather of the appearance of ease than of any actual abjuration of art.

[66] *Lectures*, p.31.

there that poetry seems to him to fail. The poet's "design is to intertain and he does not pretend that what he tells us is true". In this, poetry ranks with "Romance, the sole view of which is to entertain", and which therefore, we are told, cannot share in "the end proposed by history", which is "the instruction of the reader" (it may be remembered from the previous chapter, that it is from this point, where Smith rests his case, that Robert Watson goes forward to find the educational superiority of fiction over history). At the same time, Smith is impatient of anything in poetry which wholly departs from literal truth. Giving an instance of this in Pope's "browner horror on the woods", he adds that "Thomson is often guilty of this fault and Shakespeare almost continually". Ovid has been censured for the same class of fault in an earlier lecture.[67]

This discrediting of traditional Rhetoric and demystifying of fine prose and poetry culminates in the retrospect or summary with which Adam Smith starts Lecture 11. He restates his definition of good writing, and then makes the following comment on it:

> This you'll say is no more than common sense, and indeed it is no more. But if you'll attend to it all the Rules of Criticism and morality when traced to their foundation, turn out to be some Principles of Common Sense which every one assents to.[68]

The comment has appropriately been made on behalf of his audience ("This you'll say [...] "), because he has in effect given back to them the authority to use language without professional intermediaries. It is in this way that he makes Rhetoric, as I have suggested, less plausible as a university subject and less amenable to professionalism.

There is a larger context to this anti-professional thinking. It is

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[67] *Lectures*, pp.119, 90-91, and 77. Ovid is mentioned on p.66. It was presumably Adam Smith's reductive treatment of poetry which prompted Wordsworth to call him "the worst critic, David Hume not excepted, that Scotland, a soil to which this sort of weed seems natural, has produced" (in *Essay Supplementary to the Preface*, 1815, quoted by Bryce in *Lectures*, p.31).

[68] *Lectures*, p.55.

true that Smith did become Professor of Logic and Rhetoric at Glasgow; his lectures, as they now survive, were recorded by a student there. But he remained in that subject for less than a year, transferring to Moral Philosophy in April of 1752, and it seems certain that the surviving lectures were devised for, and first delivered to, the mixed public audience at Edinburgh in 1748. At that time, Smith had recently left Oxford University. There, he had belonged to a self-sufficient and intellectually reactionary academic community run almost exclusively for the advantage of its fellows. By contrast, he was now, in Edinburgh, expecting to take a private tutorship – that essentially free-trade avocation. If his radical views partly reflect this immediate situation, they also survived it, and the ideas about work and education which they involved were ones which Smith continued to hold, and to which he later gave more elaborate expression in his *Wealth of Nations*.

That book shows Adam Smith's distrust of all forms of education more institutionalised than the lessons of the freelance tutor. He recognises with regret that the "private teacher of any of the sciences which are commonly taught in universities, is in modern times generally considered as in the very lowest order of men of letters" – regret, because Smith believed that it was exactly the immediate pressure of consumer demand (the demeaning factor in this man's status, as the examples offered by Johnson and Cowper show) which also obliged him to teach well and usefully.[69] The Greeks and Romans, Smith observes, made no state provision (no "public establishment", to use Blair's phrase) for education: all teaching was done by the private and voluntary method. By contrast, the universities of his time, with salaried professors, monopolies of graduation awards, and state or other endowments, were more or less independent of their clients. It is in such circumstances that subjects like the traditional Rhetoric, as Smith characterises it, could artificially prosper:

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[69]*An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, ed. R.H. Campbell and A.S.Skinner, 2 vols, Oxford, 1976 (1776), vol.II. p.780.

> Were there no publick institutions for education, no system, no science would be taught for which there was not some demand; or which the circumstances of the times did not render it, either necessary, or convenient, or at least fashionable to learn. A private teacher could never find his account in teaching, either an exploded and antiquated system of a science acknowledged to be useful, or a science universally believed to be a mere useless and pedantick heap of sophistry and nonsense.[70]

Where teachers sell their skills directly to pupils in a free market, on the commercial pattern, academic subjects will freely evolve; but where teachers enjoy institutional control of their own expertise, on the professional pattern ("the producer defines the needs of the consumer and the manner in which those needs are catered for"), their pupils may have to learn what will in the event be of no use to themselves or to society.

It is true that Scottish professors very commonly did make at least a part of their income from class fees, a form of payment closely responsive to demand. I have mentioned that Hugh Blair specified an income mixed in that way for his Chair of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres.[71] And what Blair said about fees shows that he did partly share Adam Smith's views in the matter: at any rate, he believed that class fees prevented academic offices from "degenerating into mere Sinecures".[72] But fees as used in the Scottish universities were by no means simply a mechanism to bring demand to bear on teachers. As Blair also observed, since fees were paid in advance, they in fact secured for a professor the commitment of his students to the course of lectures, once undertaken.[73] In the absence of this tie, a professor might have a more predictable income, but his academic authority would be less assured, particularly in the conditions of *lernfreiheit* which prevailed in the Scottish

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[70] *Wealth of Nations*, vol.II, pp.780-81.
[71] See Sher, *Church and University*, pp.115-16.
[72] Letter to Gilbert Elliot, September 3rd, 1762: quoted in Sher, *Church and University*, p.115.
[73] Blair makes this point in the same letter just quoted.

universities during the later eighteenth century.[74] Moreover, although the system of class fees might in principle subject the university professor to Adam Smith's "real and effectual discipline [...,] not that of his corporation, but that of his customers",[75] in practice the professors conspired to protect each other from that discipline. As J.B.Morrell has said of Edinburgh University at this period, a professor was considered to have "exclusive possession of a subject" on which he lectured: "intramural competition within a field was not permitted."[76] (That explains some talk of "encroachment" and "trespass" in Scottish accounts of the literary courses at Edinburgh of professors John Stevenson, Hugh Blair, and Andrew Dalzel)[77] Therefore, if the Scottish universities did seem to approximate, more closely at least than the English ones did, to Adam Smith's ideal of an educational free market, they were in fact places well adapted to prompt and support the construction of Blair's new subject on the pattern of a protected profession.

By the time Adam Smith came to present his case in *The Wealth of Nations*, literature was a university subject at Edinburgh with its own salaried professor, as we have seen, and with state endorsement of the chair. The disestablishment of Rhetoric and the demystifying of literature which Adam Smith had promoted in his lectures had not been realised – rather the reverse. Smith's legacy in this respect had been nullified by his two successors, I suggest, in two ways: firstly, by reclaiming the title to a specific body of knowledge, and secondly by providing the teaching of that knowledge with a revived prestige. The first of these we have seen Robert Watson doing as he introduces his course.[78] Not that he

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[74] The relationship of "lernfreiheit" to academic fees is discussed by J.B.Morrell in 'The University of Edinburgh in the late Eighteenth Century', pp.158-71.

[75] *Wealth of Nations*, vol.I, p.146.

[76] Morrell, 'The University of Edinburgh in the late Eighteenth Century', p.160.

[77] See Andrew Dalzel, *History of the University of Edinburgh*, 2 vols, Edinburgh, 1862, vol.I, p.267, and unsigned article in *The Edinburgh Review*, vol.XXXV, July 1821, pp.302-14 (p.313).

[78] Again, it is not possible to know how much of what survives of Watson's lectures, in the notes taken by students in 1758 and after, formed part of what he originally delivered at Edinburgh. It is reasonable to assume that much of it did,

restores the old Rhetoric which Smith had ridiculed: the body of knowledge which he claims extends far beyond that, incorporating all the elements of literary criticism:

> The first Thing to be done in every Science, is to fix the Notion of the Science itself. In order to fix the Notion of Rhetorick, let me observe the chief Particular in which it seems necessary to find Fault with the common Writers on Rhetorick, is for confining their Precepts to one particular Sort of Discourse viz; Publick Orations. First because many of the Rules of this Art are of a General nature, and therefore ought to be delivered as general. And Secondly. Because an Acquaintance with the Rules of History, and Poetry, is at least of equal Consequence to the Improvement of Taste, as an Acquaintance with the Rules of Orations.
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> According to the following Plan, Rhetorick may be defined to be 'The Art which delivers Rules for Excellence and Beauty of Discourse'. And it is proposed in the first place to mention those Rules which are common to all the different kinds of Discourse, and then mention those which are peculiar to each particular Kind.[79]

Smith had referred to "systems of Rhetoric" in the plural, implying that each account was a more or less private speculation.[80] Watson now returns to the word "science", a word which had traditionally been used for the basic university subjects. It was also a word increasingly often used to identify higher forms of knowledge in general, in contradistinction to "art", which tended to be used for

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but the more pedagogic theorising was surely introduced with a purely student audience in mind, and I would suggest that the departure from Smith's philosophy which I am at present discussing (most of Watson's thinking, at least in prose matters, is otherwise very much like his predecessor's) was the product of a professorial point of view. Watson and Blair's greater confidence in the institutional solution may also have been prompted by the recent triumphs of the moderates in exploiting the powers of the General Assembly.

[79] 'A Treatise on Rhetorick', fol.1r-1v.

[80] *Lectures*, p.26.

merely practical and functional skills, the sort among which Smith had hoped to locate his brand of Rhetoric.[81] And in fact Hugh Blair pushes the subject further in the same direction when he makes literary criticism part of "the philosophy of human nature".[82] He thus ranks it with the general project of the Scottish Enlightenment, which was, in Lord Kames' words, "to explain the nature of Man", and offers the literary scientist a place alongside the Enlightenment economists and sociologists.[83] This notion of the subject as an infant science, essentially as psychology, was not simply introductory pomp: we see it pursued in much of the criticism of the time, and at least once as the burden of a complete book – the Glasgow professor William Richardson's *Philosophical Analysis of Shakespeare's Characters*.[84]

Such a science is only hinted at in Watson's introduction (although he does practise it occasionally in the lectures)[85] but clearly he is taking back for the expert what Smith had given to the amateur. His science of Rhetoric has "Rules" which it is the professional's job to know and issue (they are "delivered"). His pupils are to gain not just a knowledge of these rules, but "Improvement of Taste". This last is a word which Adam Smith had used with characteristic wariness: "matters of taste and imagination" preoccupy authors like Shaftesbury, Smith's anti-pattern for writing, only because such "matters [...] require little labour and at the same time afford entertainment very suitable to their temper and abilities", abilities which Smith in fact qualifies as

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[81] See Raymond Williams, *Keywords*, Glasgow, 1976, under "Science". This is a matter of strategic emphasis rather than strictly confined terminologies; Smith does sometimes use the word "science", as Watson does "art" in this passage.

[82] *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, vol.I, p.12.

[83] *Elements of Criticism*, 2 vols, Edinburgh, 1774 (1762), vol.I, p.14.

[84] London, 1774. I am referring here to the notion of literature as the material for an induced psychology – "poetry subservient to philosophy" as Richardson calls it in his introduction – and not of course to the casual use by critics of a general acquaintance with human nature and scientific psychology, something which has always been characteristic of literary criticism.

[85] When, for instance, he supports his theory of the "diffusive influence of the passions" by citing Othello's successful courtship of Desdemona with stories of his life. The fact that this courtship has happened off-stage makes more than usually conspicuous this use of literature as a body of psychological evidence.

"feableness of body as well as mind".[86] But for Watson taste is "The first Advantage to be drawn from the Rules of Rhetorick", and it was to become likewise the primary concern of Hugh Blair's lectures: as I have already mentioned, a definition of taste is Blair's starting-point.[87]

The concept of taste was probably as important to the success of the new Rhetoric/criticism as the expansion of the subject's scope which Watson was also announcing, for it invested the critic with that combination of glamour and utility upon which professions depend. As presented by Blair, it is very much the same faculty which Alexander Pope (still, in the 1750s, the modern poet most frequently read and cited in the Scottish universities) had spoken of in his *Essay on Criticism*:

> In poets as true genius is but rare,
> True taste as seldom is the critic's share:
> Both must alike from Heaven derive their light,
> These born to judge, as well as those to write.
> Let such teach others who themselves excell.[88]

Such a concept falls naturally into the scheme of professionalism: an essentially mysterious and quasi-sacerdotal talent, almost accidentally useful but certainly useful all the same, and dispensed as an ability of the producer rather than as a demand of the consumer, for it is a part of that ability to make its needfulness known. This professional appropriation of taste is well illustrated in the following contrast: when Lord Kames wishes to instance, in his *Elements of Criticism*, the highest and lowest in taste, he cites two made objects, a painting by Raphael and an inn-sign for the Saracen's Head; Hugh Blair, for the same purpose, adduces two persons, or rather two pairs of persons: "a Hottentot or a

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[86] *Lectures*, pp.56-57.
[87] *Lectures on Rhetoic and Belles Lettres*, vol.I, pp.19-45.
[88] ll.11-15 (*The Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. John Butt, 6 vols, 1961-69, vol.I, 1961, p.240). For the reading of Pope at St Andrews, see Appendix II below, and, at the Scottish universities more generally, John Vladimir Price, 'Pope and the Scottish Enlightenment Universities', in *Alexander Pope: Essays for the Tercentary*, ed. Colin Nicholson, Aberdeen, 1988, pp.39-52.

Laplander" as against "a Longinus or an Addison".[89]

Here we come to the second of the two ways in which, I suggest, academic Rhetoric was professionalised after Smith's lectures: that is, by reviving the subject's prestige. The presentation of literature through the concept of taste, a characteristic or property of the person reading it, tended of course to dignify the critical operation and the professional exponent of it. It therefore went some way towards answering the question – where is the authority to come from which enables a new group of producers to impose its own definition of "the needs of the consumer and the manner in which these needs are to be catered for"? The authority in this case was produced from within, by a literary theory.

However, there was another source for this authority, one which corresponds to the answer Terence Johnson gives to the same question: "It is only when an occupational group shares, by virtue of its membership of a dominant class or caste, wider resources of power, that such an imposition is likely to be successfully achieved".[90] In the case of the academic critic, the title-page and frontispiece of Blair's published lectures indicate what this dominant class or caste was. The frontispiece portrait by David Martin shows Blair not as Raeburn's later, more romantic portrait shows him – in private thoughtfulness, with papers, as a man of letters – but in wig and clerical bands as a minister.[91] The title-page makes the same point, identifying him first as "one of the ministers of the High Church", and after that as Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres. It had indeed been for his ability as a minister, and in particular as a preacher, that Blair had come to the notice of Lord Kames and of the University. Robert Watson too was, if not yet a minister, at least a licentiate. William Barron, his successor at St Andrews, was appointed from the ministry, and so were many other rhetorician/critics at the Scottish universities in

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[89] Kames in *Elements of Criticism*, vol.II, p.487; Blair in *Lectures*, vol.I, pp.34-35.
[90] *Professions and Power*, p.43.
[91] This in the early editions, but even in 1825, when the frontispiece is from a (different) portrait by Raeburn, Blair is still pictured as a cleric.

following years.[92] It is therefore perhaps not a coincidence that when, in 1828, University College in London, an expressly secular foundation, appointed the first professor of English Literature in England (and indeed the first professor of the subject under that name in Britain), they chose Thomas Dale, a Scottish Presbyterian minister.

I argued in my second chapter that university appointments in Scotland were coming to be seen and treated as upward extensions to careers in the Church. I quoted Alexander Carlyle on the "republican" government of the Scottish Church, and John Witherspoon (an opponent of this development) on its career ladder from probationers to principals of colleges. Adam Smith notices this same phenomenon (with approval: its effect was, after all, to bridle the cleric as such) and explains it in *The Wealth of Nations*. He observes that Calvinist churches have as their political principle "the most perfect equality of the clergy", in rank and benefice.

> Where the church benefices are all nearly equal, none of them can be very great [...] In countries where church benefices are the greater part of them very moderate, a chair in a university is generally a better establishment than a church benefice. The universities have, in this case, the picking and chusing of their numbers from all the churchmen of the country.[93]

The point I wish to make here is that the preliminary pages of Blair's *Lectures*, though published when this hierarchical adjustment between Church and universities was already far advanced, nevertheless still make the minister a testimonial to the character of the critic. Beyond the universities, after all, it was still the Church which had the "wider resources of power". Its integrated national discipline reached from the church sessions, by

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[92] Adam Smith, by contrast, seems never to have purposed or even considered the ordination which was the set objective of his Snell Exhibition (Ian Simpson Ross, *The Life of Adam Smith*, Oxford, 1995, p.59).

[93] *Wealth of Nations*, vol.II, pp.808-10.

means of which the moral supervision of the people was maintained, through the presbyteries and synods up to the General Assembly, "that truly popular assembly" as Henry Mackenzie calls it, which was all that Scotland had of a national parliament.[94]

We have seen that it was within this "national discipline" that the momentous decision on *Douglas* was taken, and that it was on the analogy of the Church as a sponsoring authority that Blair gave the Celts a foundation for their literary tradition. Although, therefore, what was happening here in the making of a profession – the exploitation of the Church's established authority to sponsor a new and tendentious one – may seem at odds with that assimilation of the Church to secular culture which I described in Chapter II, really it is part of the same transaction: the building of a new literary culture partly out of and therefore partly within an old religious one. Certainly, sermons were quoting and even discussing secular literature, and themselves adopting the values of that literature. Prayers were aimed at press-worthiness. Ministers were becoming men of letters, in their leisure or in their careers. But then Blair's *Critical Dissertation* was championing a work which he recognised as having, in its figurative and vehement language, "a remarkable resemblence to the style of the Old Testament", and accordingly praised for its "enthusiasm", that quality which he and other moderates wished to be disused in the ministry, but whose prestige was nevertheless borrowed from religion.[95] Robert Watson was claiming in his lectures that "The Improvement of Taste is nearly connected with Improvement of Virtue", and he signalled the translation or handing-down of values involved here (and deplored by Witherspoon, as we have

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[94] *Account of the Life and Writings of John Home*, p.8. In January, 1951, the young Scots who had taken the Stone of Destiny from Westminster Abbey left a notice on the steps of St Giles's Cathedral asking from "the Scottish people [...] their instructions regarding the disposal of the Stone". These instructions should come, they suggested, through the General Assembly, because "we are convinced that the Assembly is the only body capable of expressing the will of the people of Scotland". See Harold Scott, *Scotland Yard*, Harmondsworth, 1957, p.235.

[95] *Critical Dissertation*, pp.2 and 33. For Blair's deprecation of "enthusiasm in religion", see his sermon 'On the proper Disposition of the Heart towards God', in *Sermons*, 5 vols, London, 1777-1801, vol.V, 1801, p.27.

noticed) when he speaks of "Piety and Virtue" and "their Contraries Vice and Impiety".[96] More practically, and more immediately germane to the present point about resources of power, appointees to the Scottish universities were, as we have noticed, required to sign the Confession of Faith and Formula, and rectors and principals to be ministers. Blair's frontispiece costume had therefore a factual as well as a symbolic meaning: it was as admittees, at least, to a presbytery that such men were to be trusted with the nation's learning. The institutionalised literary culture which Watson and Blair were promoting was enjoying the endorsement of the Church's still vital and socially infused value system: above all, the improvised authority of its professional leaders was being conspicuously confirmed by the Church's social and political establishment. This sponsorship was of course the more freely available (but no less efficacious) for the fact that the same men were both conferring it and receiving it.

I would summarise this genealogy of academic English Literature thus. The Copyright Acts put the Scottish universities into direct and involuntary communication with the nation's printing. As the significance of this communication became more clear at St Andrews, so the professors incubated a grander ambition for their university library as a comprehensive archive of literature. But so also had they to find answers to contemporary concern, within and beyond the universities, about the influence of this promiscuous literature – rapidly growing and adapting itself to popular demand as it was – upon its readers, particularly its younger readers. The obligation of the Scottish universities in this matter became the more urgent as they delegated more of their pedagogic functions to the printed book. Within the university, the simplest answer was to control the reading done by students in the library, using various devices of bureaucratic censorship. Beyond the universities, one of Robert Watson's pupils, Thomas Bowdler, was associated with a

[96] 'Treatise on Rhetorick', fols 2r and 75r -75v.

comparable response to the problem – controlling by expurgation the reading that could be done in canonical texts. Bowdler's ideology, limited and essentially remedial in practice, nevertheless aspired to a more radical and comprehensive solution: the imposing of some constituted authority upon the otherwise demand-led produce of the press. Such a solution had been hinted to him and exemplified at St Andrews, where indeed a cultural authority was being improvised and practised in the teaching of Robert Watson. Subsequently, it was formulated as an ideal by Hugh Blair in his *Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian,* and then fully instituted in Blair's own chair at Edinburgh. I argue that this institution is best understood as a modern profession, devoted to providing services defined and ambitiously valorised by itself.

If this profession did not ever realise its promise as a matrix of new literature, that was, most immediately, because literary teaching lost its impetus in Scotland early in the nineteenth century, when more negative forms of control supervened, as we have observed at St Andrews. Even had that not happened, however, there was a contradiction in the ambitions of the new Rhetoric which must have limited its influence upon the making of literature. Certainly it had enlarged the scope of literary study, and sophisticated its theory, so that the old compositional manuals, Smith's "silly set of Books", soon seemed primitive and inadequate. But its advances had been in the evaluation and analysis of reading, which was, as we saw, its first and urgent concern. So far from making a comparable progress in its attention to composition, it had progressively relinquished that side of literature. Its legacy to literary studies in the nineteenth century and after was therefore that moral seriousness, and that religious paternity, whose explanations have appeared in this chapter (and whose influence in later literary studies has been noted by historians of the subject), but nothing of the literary sponsorship or entrepreneurship which had been in its earlier days so promising a motive. Its tendency throughout the period therefore was to make more absolute the division between the student as trainee-reader

and the printed text as his datum. In my next chapter, I will argue that this capitulation to print was not common to all literary studies in the Scottish universities, and that it came about in the reformed Rhetoric just because that subject divorced itself from its origins in ancient rhetoric and ancient literature.

Chapter V: Classics, Rhetoric, and the printed text

The institutionalising of English Literature which I have described in the previous chapter created a professional reservation for it within the otherwise commercially directed realm of letters. That reservation was situated in the universities, but its claim for space there had not been unchallenged. Although the study of modern literature in English did come to seem (at least until recently) to be a more or less self-justifyingly discrete sphere of study, that was only so because the reformed Rhetoric successfully established itself during the eighteenth century and bequeathed the subject, as then devised, to later generations. At the time when this Rhetoric was beginning to establish itself, the greater part of what we would think of as university literary study was going forward not in Rhetoric but in the Greek and Latin classes. Indeed, Rhetoric itself, although taught as an associate of Logic, was an ancient subject, whose primary manuals were themselves classics of Greek and Latin literature. What Blair, Watson, and others did, in effect, was to turn Rhetoric from a province of Greek and Latin into an independent subject.

Not only the resistance from the classicists evidences this interpretation of what happened; it is also evident in the efforts of the entrepreneurs of the new subject to save for it something of the prestige of the older literary discipline. I will be touching on both these sorts of evidence during the chapter, as part of my account of the relations between the new and the old (the Classical)[1] literary departments of the Scottish universities. In this account, I wish to show that literary studies, including the study of modern vernacular texts and of modern language itself, were already growing within the old literary departments in a direction which might have made those departments the matrix of the newer

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[1] I shall be referring to Latin and Greek studies as "Classics". The term in this curricular sense is anachronistic, but less ambiguous than "Humanities".

subject in a different form. That is important to my larger theme for the following reason. As an ancient subject, Rhetoric was also, of course, anterior to printing, its principles therefore wholly concerned with oral or scribal discourse. The new Rhetoric, on the contrary, was, as Robert Watson's introduction to the subject showed, a print-conscious subject, attentive proportionately to the new forms of discourse which were outgrowing the voice. It was attentive likewise proportionately to the act of reading, which the press had made not only pre-eminent over hearing in most areas of communication but also pre-eminent over writing: for whereas a written text may suppose from one to many readers, a printed text, as a mass-produced object, supposes at least many readers, and theoretically an unlimited number. Therefore, when the rivalry of the university departments over literary education resolved itself in favour of the new Rhetoric, the English Literature which developed from there had no heritage in the broader literary arts practised in Latin and Greek (as we shall be noticing); although it emulated in some respects the classical tradition, the new subject was essentially a science of the printed book.

Early in the copyright period, St Andrews University received an offer from the Duke of Chandos, later Chancellor of the University, to endow a Chair of Eloquence. No records survive of exactly what the Duke, his agent Charles Stuart, or the University supposed would be taught by the Chair's occupant, although the offer prompted much discussion within the institution, and much correspondence.[2] In his introduction to *Launch-Site for English Studies*, Robert Crawford suggests that "the debate over the founding of a St Andrews Chair of Eloquence in 1720 may be seen as *a* – if not *the* – foundational moment in the early development of the university teaching of literary texts in English".[3] He

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[2] See J. Maitland Anderson, 'The Princely Chandos', *The Scottish Review*, no.25, 1895, pp.41-70, from which article my information about the affair is mostly derived.

[3] Crawford, ed., *Launch-Site for English Studies*, p.1. See also the 'Introduction' in

mentions, as part of the development of that teaching, Charles Rollin's *Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres*. The influence of that book at St Andrews is argued in more detail by Neil Rhodes in his essay 'From Rhetoric to Criticism'.[4] Now, the term "éloquence" was indeed part of the title of Rollin's chair at the College de France, as both Rhodes and Crawford mention. However, its full specification was "éloquence latine", and Rollin's first duty in that office was to deliver a panegyric in Latin on Louis XIV – distinctly an exercise in traditional rather than "new" rhetoric.[5] Rollin was primarily a classicist. Likewise, it was to a classicist that the St Andrews Chair of Eloquence would have been offered, if Charles Stuart had had his way. In a letter to the University, he suggested Thomas Ruddiman, "one of the best Grammarians now alive" (indeed, Stuart writes his name "Rudiment", no doubt thinking of *Rudiments of the Latin Tongue*, the title which established Ruddiman's fame in the world of education).[6] Of Ruddiman's cast of scholarship, his biographer Douglas Duncan says, "It was only through his knowledge of the Latin tongue that Ruddiman was qualified to make any original contribution to the study of literature. In the wider sphere of literary appreciation he showed not the least sign of an independent critical sense."[7] As an alternative to Ruddiman, Stuart's letter hinted in favour of his own friend at St Andrews, Francis Pringle. Pringle was Professor of Greek at St Leonard's College. This same alliance of Greek and Rhetoric in one person was indeed what Andrew Melville had proposed as part of his

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The Scottish Invention of English Literature, ed. Crawford, pp.2-7.

[4] In *The Scottish Invention of English Literature*, pp.22-36 (especially pp.27-28).

[5] For Rollin's professorial title, see Henri Ferté, *Rollin, sa vie, ses oeuvres, et l'université de son temps*, Paris, 1902, pp.11-14, and François Bluche, ed., *Dictionnaire du grand siècle*, Paris, 1990, p.1353. For the panegyric in traditional rhetoric, see below, p.251. The convenient term "new rhetoric" is used (perhaps introduced) by Wilbur Howell, for the subject as reformed by Adam Smith and his successors, in *Eighteenth-Century British Logic and Rhetoric*, Princeton, 1971 (e.g. on p.441), and used likewise by other writers on the subject since then.

[6] From a letter quoted in J. Maitland Anderson, 'The Princely Chandos', p.46.

[7] *Thomas Ruddiman, a Study in Scottish Scholarship of the early Eighteenth Century*, Edinburgh, 1965, p.109.

reforms at Glasgow University as far back as 1577.[8]

Eloquence at St Andrews, it seems, would have been a classical subject: not necessarily (we guess when we think of Ruddiman's interests, or when we encounter, as we shall later, the interests of Francis Pringle) confined to the Latin and Greek languages, but making them the standard and starting-point of composition. Its failure was not, then, really the postponement of what did later happen when Rhetoric revived there in the 1750s. The correspondence about the Chair shows the word "Rhetoric" used interchangeably with "Eloquence". The failure of the Chair of Eloquence in fact meant the forfeiture from Classics of what might otherwise have been its pre-emptive re-appropriation of Rhetoric.

In the event, the Chandos benefaction was used to fund, instead, a Chair of Medicine. Undoubtedly therefore the first institutional commitment to the teaching of literature in English at St Andrews, as Professor Crawford goes on to say, came with the appointment of Robert Watson, who taught Rhetoric in the English language, not (as his predecessors had done) in Latin, and whose lectures used illustrative texts drawn largely from English literature. That appointment was made in 1756. In the same year, Thomas Ruddiman was publishing his last book, *Audi Alteram Partem*. The book was principally a combative reply to criticism of his edition of George Buchanan, but it ends with a lament for the whole Scottish tradition of Latinity. Warning his countrymen against the decay of Latin ("that Queen of Languages") in Scottish schools, Ruddiman wrote, "I am afraid that, should it be laid aside, *quod omen avertat*, Ignorance and Barbarity will succeed in its place."[9] The juxtaposition in that year of the two events, the appointment and the publication, confirms that Watson's Rhetoric was not a revival of the project which had failed in 1720; it was, rather, a conspicuous stage in just that shift of Scottish culture which Ruddiman was deploring, and which, had he been

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[8] See James Scotland, *A History of Scottish Education*, 2 vols, London, 1969, vol.I, p.136.

[9] *Audi Alteram Partem*, Edinburgh, 1756, pp.55-56.

appointed to the proposed Chair of Eloquence, he would doubtless have energetically resisted.[10] Ruddiman's *Audi Alteram Partem* was not, it may be worth mentioning, acquired by the University Library.

It would be unprofitable to conjecture in any detail what might have happened to Rhetoric at St Andrews if it had indeed re-developed directly out of Latin or Greek studies. Of course it had originally developed out of classical culture, in so far as its elementary texts belonged there, and it had been, until the middle of the eighteenth century, taught in Latin. But its intermediate background, academically, was Logic, rather than classical literature (Logic, indeed, is all that Percival Stockdale recalls being taught by Watson's predecessor, Henry Rymer, and that opinionated poet, already a keen critic and versifier as a student, would surely have recalled and commented upon any literature in English which had been offered to him by way of instruction).[11] As such, the reformed Rhetoric of Robert Watson descended most immediately from that "silly set of Books" which Adam Smith had spoken of in his Edinburgh lectures: the literature which named and analysed the different genres and devices of eloquence.[12]

Such traditional Rhetoric did indeed continue to be studied at St Andrews during and after Robert Watson's time, and I will say a little about one of its most popular latter-day presentations, in order to show what sort of rhetorical culture was being preserved alongside the reformed Rhetoric which Watson was teaching. John Ward's *System of Oratory* was first published after Ward's death in 1758, but it recorded lectures which were originally delivered when Ward had become Professor of Rhetoric at Gresham College in the year 1720.[13] I have said that the book was popular: at St Andrews,

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[10] Of course, Ruddiman is sometimes regarded, in his capacities of printer and translator, as a champion of Scotland's own vernacular literature, though this is a view which Douglas Duncan rejects: see *Thomas Ruddiman*, pp.153-54.

[11] *Memoirs*, vol.I, pp.173-74.

[12] See Chapter IV above.

[13] *A System of Oratory, delivered in a Course of Lectures publicly read at Gresham College, London*, 2 vols, London, 1758.

the two volumes of the work were borrowed by six students in 1768, five in 1773, and two in 1782. These numbers suggest a falling-off of attention, but the book's continued use in the later 1780s is at least implied by the student marginalia appearing in the St Andrews copy during those years.[14]

That Ward's *System of Oratory* is a work of traditional Rhetoric appears in its careful study of the "commonplaces", and in its laborious attention to the distinctions among tropes and figures. A student of St Andrews embarking on Lecture 34, whose title dishearteningly begins "Of more Figures and Sentences [...] ", has written in the Library copy "Ward I believe has 100 names for his figures which are simply impossible to be remembered".[15] But there is more to Ward's tradition than antiquated and easily-ridiculed inheritances like these: its essential heritage is classical culture. The *System* is a work founded on the classical authors: on the classical rhetoricians, in making its premise that the "principal end and design of oratory is to persuade", particularly "to persuade and excite [an audience] to action", and on the classical authors in general, in making their literature (in translation) its exemplary material. In keeping with this heritage, Ward is essentially concerned with speech, and incorporates written language in his subject by extension from that, rather than as a decisive reform.[16] For him, as for his classical authorities, the orator is properly "the

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[14] See Appendix II for details of the borrowings. As to the marginalia: where these are not actually dated by the scribes, there are sometimes signatures which are datable from matriculation lists. The copy in question is class-marked sPN4105.E5W3.

[15] *System of Oratory*, vol.II, p.95, of the Library copy. See also a marginalium on p.16 of the same volume: "It deserves to be observed that Mr Ward has followed the Ancient Rhetorician's opinions & not that of the moderns [...] I would not reccomend [sic] his oratory to any person who can procure a copy of Humes Elements of Criticism". In vol.I, at p.60, another student has written more decisively, but perhaps making roughly the same point, "The author was a blockhead for his pains". We may guess that Robert Watson was sometimes commenting unfavourably in his lectures on aspects of Ward's tradition, as Adam Smith had done. Ward's book had not been deliberately purchased for the Library, but had arrived via Stationers Hall in 1758 [Curators' Reports, p.43], so the official teaching policy on it is hard to induce.

[16] See his Lecture II, in vol.I, p.23: "For though rhetoric is said to be the art of speaking well, [...] yet since the rules for speaking and writing are the same, under speaking we are to include writing."

mouth of an assembly".[17] Thus the *System* is prefaced, as the title-page announces it, by "An Inaugural Oration, Spoken in Latin, before the Commencement of the Lectures, according to the usual Custom". The wording of this brief text ("Oration", "Spoken", "Commencement of the Lectures", "usual Custom") shows how far Ward's book itself was regarded as an approximation to or imitation of essentially oral practice.

The word "oratory", as Ward uses it, has in fact much the same scope as the word "eloquence" had until the later years of the century, by which time the new Rhetoric had made the extension into written language routine. Before that time, by a necessary extension these words could mean writing, but essentially they meant speech. Even in Hugh Blair's lectures, "eloquence" is that division of Rhetoric which concerns public speaking.[18] When Lord Chandos had proposed a Chair of Eloquence, he had been offering St Andrews University a specialist in oratory such as Gresham College was in that same year acquiring in John Ward. By suggesting Ruddiman or Pringle for the position, Charles Stuart had expressly sited that specialism where Ward and his like continued to site it, in the Greek and Latin cultures which were its historical home.[19] The point I wish to make now, through this discussion of Ward's *System*, is that the thinking of 1720, not acted upon at St Andrews in that year, nor (as I have argued) resumed in Watson's appointment in 1756, was nevertheless still current and available, though failing, during the later part of the century.

I have discussed in Chapter IV the lectures which Adam Smith gave in Edinburgh. His recasting there of Rhetoric as a modern discipline of communication, governing all forms of language, at last gave the subject absolute independence of its classical background, as well as of its more recent association with Logic

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[17] *System of Oratory*, Lecture III, vol.I, p.35.
[18] See his ten lectures on that subject, numbers 25-34 (vol.II, pp.171-480).
[19] Ward lectured in English as well as Latin. That all lectures should be given in both languages was a rule of the Gresham foundation: see Howell, *Eighteenth-Century British Logic and Rhetoric*, p.84.

(though Blair's Edinburgh chair was the first to institutionalise that last freedom). Robert Watson in turn used that independence not only by concentrating upon the written form of language, and its reception as reading, but also by applying its principles to modern texts in English. He was not, in practice, as radical as Smith. He did also teach Logic and Grammar. He continued to divide the subject of Rhetoric by figures, tropes, and genres. And of course he did not take his examples wholly from modern works: classics in translation provide many of his illustrations. Undoubtedly, however, his was the new de-classicised Rhetoric, taught in English and directed toward English communications.

The severance which Smith and Watson had effected here was, then, not just a severance from antiquated Rhetoric, the "silly set of Books", but a severance from the classical allegiances of that Rhetoric. In making this break, they could claim the support of an already well-established argument in favour of the cultivation of native languages. St Andrews University itself had voiced it, moderately, in a representation to the Commission of Visitation in 1687. Following a report of its Latin and Greek courses, it had recommended that there should also be required from the students "orations and discourses in English [...], seeing it is not probable that ever they will understand the properties and elegancies of any other language, who are not acquainted with the rhetoric and composure of their own".[20] At much the same time, the case was being put more strongly, giving English the primacy, by John Locke, in *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (1693): "since 'tis English, that an English Gentleman will have constant use of, that is the language he should chiefly Cultivate, and wherein most care should be taken to polish and perfect his Style."[21] In relegating the classical languages here, Locke also specifically detaches from them the responsibility for teaching composition, placing it instead with the vernacular, and in vernacular models. Observing that many

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[20]Reprinted in Dalzel, *History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol.II, pp.219-23.
[21]Quotation from the 1705 edition, in *Educational Writings*, p.300.

Englishmen cannot use English properly, he explains the anomaly thus:

> They have been taught Rhetoric, but yet never taught how to express themselves handsomely with their Tongues or Pens in the Language they are always to use: As if the Names of the Figures, that embellished the Discourses of those who understood the Art of Speaking, were the very Art and Skill of Speaking well. This, as all other things of Practice, is to be learn'd, not by a few, or a great many Rules given; but by Exercise and Application according to good Rules, or rather Patterns.[22]

Locke was no doubt mainly thinking, for his anti-model, of Oxford, where he himself had taught Logic, and where such study of Rhetoric as there was in his time and in the eighteenth century took the form of "themes" in Latin on Latin models.[23] But his views were certainly studied at St Andrews. The 1693 edition was regularly borrowed, as both the receipt books and the condition of the copy itself testify; so also was volume III of the *Works*, where *Some Thoughts* reappears. More significantly, Watson himself borrowed *Some Thoughts* as a student in September, 1746, and volume III of the *Works* in April, 1753 – before, that is, he lectured in Edinburgh.[24]

The influence of Locke in this matter, as well as in other features of his thinking on education, was much promoted by his French disciple, Charles Rollin. I have mentioned Rollin already as a Latinist, and I will argue later in this chapter that he is not properly to be cast as a champion of vernacular Rhetoric. He himself said, without apology, that he wrote better Latin than French.[25] Nevertheless, as principal at the College de Beauvais, from 1697 to 1712, Rollin had made French rather than Latin the language of the

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[22] *Educational Writings*, p.298.
[23] See Christopher Wordsworth, *Scholae Academicae: some account of the studies at the English universities in the eighteenth century*, Cambridge, 1910, pp.87-89.
[24] L.R.B. (Students and Professors), 1737-48, p.105, and L.R.B. (Students and Professors), 1752-59, p.2.
[25] *Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres*, vol.I, p.57.

classroom. His major work on education, *De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les belles lettres* (1726-28: translated into English in 1734), was composed in French, not Latin. If that point might have been obscured in the English translation, Rollin himself made an issue of it in the preface, explaining that "I judged it not proper to confine myself to the making men eloquent in Latin"; he wished also to prepare "those who were one day to employ their eloquence and learning in the French tongue; and this induced me to add examples to my work taken from French authors".[26] It was in November, 1746, when Robert Watson was in his third Arts year, and therefore presumably fresh from such official Rhetoric as there was at St Andrews, taught in Latin by Henry Rymer, that he first borrowed the four volumes of Rollin's *Belles Lettres*. In 1754, he again borrowed volume II, the one dealing specifically with Rhetoric, at the time when he may well have been preparing his own first discourses on Rhetoric.[27]

One other book which urged this same theme ought to be mentioned: Thomas Sheridan's *British Education* (1756). Here, Sheridan referred explicitly to both Locke and Rollin when he appealed to British institutions, using Locke's own words, to copy their French neighbours in their "publick care to promote and reward the improvement of their own language". Sheridan believed that, with this "publick care", English could be "recognised and bequeathed to posterity a third classical language, of far more importance than the other two".[28] *British Education* was bought for the St Andrews University Library in 1758.[29]

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[26] *Belles Lettres*, p.57.

[27] L.R.B. (Students and Professors), 1737-48, p.110, and L.R.B. (Students and Professors), 1752-59, p.47.

[28] *British Education*, London, 1756, pp. 223 and 368. There is a brief survey of "the vernacular movement of the eighteenth century" as it affected English education as a whole in Richard S. Tompson, 'English and English education in the eighteenth century', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, vol.CLXVII, Oxford, 1977, pp.65-79.

[29] The Receipt Book or Books which follow the 1752-59 volume are unfortunately missing: there is a gap until 1768 for student borrowings, and 1773 for professors' borrowings. It is therefore not possible to know who borrowed Sheridan's book during that period.

Sheridan was, of course, concerned with the ideal of a standardised spoken English, a reminder that the vernacular movement in European education had especial pertinence in Scotland: indeed, Adam Smith himself may have been invited to give his Edinburgh lectures originally as an emissary of Oxford English.[30] And that movement had national immediacy in another respect which I have already noted: it readily related to the decline of classical studies in Scottish schools which Thomas Ruddiman observed with so much concern. Ruddiman's interest was in Latin, but Greek was in even more faltering a state in mid-century Scotland. If students were arriving at university with a weak knowledge of Latin, most of them knew no Greek at all.[31] Nor apparently did they learn very much afterwards. Percival Stockdale (who speaks in favour of education in the vernacular, at least in schools) found the teaching of Greek at St Andrews (he was there from 1754 until 1756) "superficial".[32] In both respects, then, as a way towards more correct English, and as a way out of difficulties with Latin and Greek, the vernacular movement in education was peculiarly pertinent to Scottish needs.

What Ruddiman and Stockdale saw or believed they saw should not be taken to mean that Latin and Greek were not still dominant subjects in the Scottish Arts course at university. Latin, in particular, was commonly studied for three or even all four years of that course.[33] In 1769, the Kinnoull Prizes (founded by Chancellor Kinnoull and presented to the best student in each subject class) were awarded in eight subjects, four of which were classical. By 1782, as we might expect, two new subjects had been added to the list – Logic/Rhetoric and Civil History; still, the

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[30] This seems to have been how John Home later remembered the matter, although he may in fact have been confusing Smith with Sheridan (see a letter quoted in Sher, *Church and University*, pp.108-109, footnote 75).

[31] See M.L.Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain, 1500-1900*, Cambridge 1959, pp.133-43, and the same author's *Greek Studies in England*, Cambridge, 1945, p.42.

[32] Stockdale, *Memoirs*, vol.I, p.176. Stockdale speaks of English in schools on pp.47-54.

[33] R.G.Cant, *The University of St Andrews*, p.130.

classical subjects dominated, and are listed first in the records.[34] The purchasing lists of the Library at St Andrews (the Curators' Reports) show that in the ten years between 1748 and 1757, there were fifty-two works in Latin purchased, as against fifty in English. However, the more significant point is that, of these books, the English were mostly philosophical and theological, the Latin mostly literary. The Library Catalogue drawn up in 1763 seems to make a similar point. It records two sets of the works of Shakespeare, compared to the following possessions in Greek and Latin literature (whether in the original, or in routine translations): three sets of Homer (with three individual works), four of Cicero (with seven individual works), four of Virgil (with two individual works).[35]

Finally, the Receipt Books confirm the implications of these evidences. Let us look at the Latin and Greek reading of the students who matriculated in 1753 (see Appendix II). This is impressively wide. Dominant in the Latin part of it are Livy, Caesar, Sallust, and Tacitus, as historians; Virgil and Horace, as poets; and among the others, Cicero and Terence. Dominant in Greek are Homer and Xenophon. But there are also among the Latin borrowings Eutropius, Ovid, Pliny, Suetonius, Lucretius, Justin, and Florus; and among the Greek, Pindar, Epictetus, Theophrastus, Euripides, Plato, and Archimedes. Even the Latin part of this reading is almost exclusively literary (at least in the eighteenth-century sense). There are only three works of science, accounting for five loans altogether, and one work of Logic, borrowed once (these latter loans represent, of course, a very small proportion of the borrowings in science and philosophy as a whole during the period). The class of 1753 are not, then, using Latin as the medium of general learned exchange. But nor are they doing even their literary reading strictly within its proper disciplines, Greek within Greek, and Latin within Latin. All the Greek texts are

[34] Minutes of the United College, St Andrews University Library MSS UC400/2, pp.523-24, and UC400/4, p.29.
[35] Author Catalogue, 1763, St Andrews University Library MS LY105/7.

either supplied with Latin parallels (e.g. the Euripides), or are straight Latin versions (Barrow's edition of Archimedes), or English versions (Budgel's Theophrastus or, of course, Pope's Homer). Of the Latin texts, Caesar, Livy, and Cicero are borrowed in the original language; all the rest are Latin-English versions (mostly Clarke's, but also, for instance, Martyn's edition of Virgil's *Georgics*), or straight translations (Rowe's Lucan, Gordon's Tacitus, Melmoth's Pliny).

These records would seem to justify, then, the complaint which Ruddiman had made in 1733, that "some of the Sciences that are taught at universities may be, and too often are, taught from Authors other than Latin or Greek ones".[36] They show, correspondingly, that the purchasing and reading of classical texts was largely a literary enterprise in quite a narrow sense. It therefore must be remembered that, although the Eloquence project at St Andrews had failed, and although there was until 1756 no Rhetoric there in English, indeed probably very little formal Rhetoric of any sort, there certainly was an organised literary faculty at St Andrews, as at the other Scottish universities, within the discipline of Classics.

Important to notice, too, is that this discipline was in some sense gravitating, on its own account, towards the vernacular. The mixture, in university classical studies, of a resilient literary culture with declining standards in the languages themselves, naturally prompted not merely, as we have seen, an increasing attention to the literature, and acceptance of it in vernacular forms, but consequently (and the more easily in a neo-classical phase of British culture) an extension of that interest into original vernacular literature. The great prestige of Alexander Pope's English Homer was alone a powerful prompt to cultivate this continuity, and that same text, one of the most-borrowed in St Andrews Library throughout the period, was itself in practice acting

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[36] *Dissertation upon the Way of Teaching the Latin Tongue*, quoted in Duncan, *Thomas Ruddiman*, p.152.

as the medium for such a cultural migration. For instance, the readers of Charles Rollin's *Belles Lettres* in English would have been interpreting that author's extended discussion of the beauties of Homer (in volume I, pp.278-346) largely as a celebration of Pope's version, which supplies the English translations. Rollin's French versions have no such authority. His standard version is Mme Dacier's prose translation, which is supported by occasional verse renderings, but all are subject to distancing comment as to their adequacy or otherwise. Pope is naturally enough an addition to the English *Belles Lettres* only, and receives no deprecation there, a point which has much force at moments when the French translators are under fire. Accordingly we find Watson saying, in his lectures, "the following passage in Homer is beautiful", and then quoting from Pope.[37]

Now this migration into the vernacular was not going unremarked. It was, indeed, a development which some Scottish classicists expressly meant to encourage. Principal among these was Andrew Dalzel, Professor of Greek at Edinburgh from 1772 to 1806 (and a friend of John Hunter of St Andrews). Dalzel had this commerce with the vernacular in mind for both the rhetorical and critical aspects of his subject. As to the the former, he advises his students thus: "you should form your taste upon the Grecian writers [...] and be able to imitate their pure and elegant manner of composition" (of course he meant imitation in English). As to the latter, he makes a policy of "pointing out to you the eminent English authors in the same walk", a deliberate communicating to English literature of the authority of the classical canon (a transaction also to be found in Robert Watson's lectures, as we shall see later). Although he was giving these lectures after the founding of the Edinburgh chair of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, Dalzel represents his approach as pioneering. He describes his attention to native literature as "uncommon", in that "Virgil, and Horace, and Ovid, are known in the schools, while the names of

[37] 'Treatise on Rhetorick', fol.28v.

our most celebrated English poets are scarcely ever heard of". Yet, he says, "the information we derive from antiquity will give us a much more elegant and accurate discernment, with respect to all modern compositions, which deserve our attentive study".[38]

Another Edinburgh professor whose lectures had touched on modern literature was John Stevenson. His subject was neither Classics nor specifically Rhetoric (which subject had no titled place at Edinburgh before Blair was appointed), but Logic, of which he was Professor from 1730 to 1775. But he had come at the moderns from the same direction that Dalzel did: that is, from the Greek. An account of the University, written and published in the early nineteenth century, says this of Stevenson's teaching:

> in order to form the taste of his students, he caused them to read and translate in his hearing, the Greek text of Aristotle's Poetics and of Longinus' Essay, and [he] commented critically on what they read, so copiously, from the critical works then known, such as the prose discourses and prefaces of Dryden, Addison's papers in the Spectator, Bossu, Dacier, and Pope's notes on Homer, as greatly to delight and instruct his hearers, whom he thus initiated into those pleasing studies, which, at that period of life, were quite new to them.

The article from which this quotation comes was apparently written by Dalzel (the article is reprinted as such in an appendix to Dalzel's *History*). It makes much of Stevenson's Greek, and seems to be the source of the idea that Stevenson regarded Blair's appointment in 1760 as "an encroachment upon his province".[39] In his own lectures, we have noticed, Dalzel oddly overlooks Blair's labours. It is evident that he wished to make Greek, specifically instead of Rhetoric, the matrix of new studies in native literature.

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[38] *Substance of Lectures on the Ancient Greeks*, ed. John Dalzel, 2 vols, Edinburgh, 1821, vol.I, p.357, and Preface, pp.viii-ix.

[39] *Scots Magazine*, vol.LXIV, 1802, pp.18-32: quotations from pp.21 and 22. The article is about the career of Duke Gordon, who was a student of Stevenson at Edinburgh. It suggests that Stevenson did also teach Greek as a distinct subject.

For several reasons additional to the peculiarly Scottish circumstances mentioned above, Dalzel's was a highly plausible project. There was already a strong and sophisticated habit of critical attention to literature in university Greek and Latin classes. I will mention later the literary interests of Francis Pringle, who taught Greek at St Leonards until 1747. The only Classics lectures surviving from St Andrews are the ones given by Henry Hill, Professor of Greek from 1789 until 1820. These lectures were printed (in 1819, but the lectures had been given, as the Preface says, "for many years" before that) as *Essays on the Institutions, Government and Manners of the States of Ancient Greece*. Hill did also lecture directly upon Greek authors. That series of lectures does not survive, but the purpose of the political and cultural studies recorded in the 1819 *Essays*, Hill says, is "to facilitate or to promote the study of the authors of ancient Greece". It was not just background information. Some idea of the literary-historical scholarship which Hill brought to bear may be taken from his fifth essay, in which, among other things, he analyses the literary influence of the Greek games. His discussion begins with a premise as to literary production: "Before the invention of printing, the difficulty and expense of procuring books were great." He then shows how the games, and the type of audiences which attended them, with their competing partisanships, promoted and improved oratory, and how in particular they founded the celebrity of Pindar and Herodotus. This historicism, supplying the explanatory culture behind the production of literary texts, is matched on the far side (the intervening literary criticism being, as I have said, missing), with a larger theory for the modern reception of such authors: "Besides the tendency of their writings to refine the taste, and to foster sentiments of liberty and independence, no human productions are more calculated to amend the heart, and form it to the love and practice of virtue."[40]

With this ethical theory of literature, we come to the second

[40] *Essays*, 1819: Preface, p.v, and pp.87-88.

reason for the eligibility of Classics as the home of literary studies at a time when, as we saw in Chapter III, moral education was a displaced function, seeking a new resort in the taught curriculum. The moral authority of ancient literature was the value most insistently claimed for it in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to the author of *A Practical Essay on the manner of Studying and Teaching in Scotland,* for instance, "a manly and independent character is the natural result of a good classical education".[41] The word "natural" suggests what almost superstitious respect that literature commanded. No doubt this had something to do with the simpler concepts of heroism which it deployed: the moral dangers posed by fictions which showed flawed heroism or genialities in vice exercised the concern of most of those who discussed, in the eighteenth century, the literature of post-classical periods. But authorship too fell under this ethical valuation, as indeed it must do among those who come to the concept through traditional Rhetoric, and whose paradigm of the literary artist is therefore the orator. After all, had not rhetoricians always insisted on the primacy of virtue in the orator? It is a point which Cicero comes to at the start of his *De Inventione* while he is imagining the very birth of the science. And "a good man speaking well" was in one form or another a standard definition of the orator in the eighteenth century, derived from Quintilian's formulation "vir bonus dicendi peritus".[42]

This was more than a literary issue. The educated man of the eighteenth century was inclined to regard virtue itself as a classical heritage. Virtue's paradigms were the ancient heroes – in politics, particularly the Roman heroes. Cato, for instance, was not only admired in the theatre; the appropriation of his name by polemicists during the American troubles of the 1760s and 1770s was one instance of its exploitation in many political controversies of the time. And if that virtue was indeed a heritage, it was most

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[41] (n.a.) Edinburgh, 1823, p.36.
[42] *Institutio Oratoria,* (Loeb edition) 4 vols, London, 1922, p.354 (12.1.1).

obviously so where the inheritance failed:

> I desired that the Senate of Rome might appear before me in one large chamber, and an assembly of somewhat a latter age in counterview in another. The first seemed to be an assembly of heroes and demigods; the other a knot of pedlars, pickpockets, highwaymen, and bullies.[43]

The association of this larger political issue with personal virtue and eloquence is clearly made by William Guthrie in his introduction to a translation of Cicero's speeches:

> true Eloquence is built upon the *Love of Liberty*; to attain it, the Mind must possess itself of a Consciousness that the Tongue labours for the Glory and Happiness of Mankind, and that both, in a great Measure, must redound to the Orator himself. Without this Consciousness, the Expression may be *just*, the Disposition *artful*, and the Conclusion *rational*; but still it must be void of the *Spirit* and *Strength* that characterize a *Demosthenes* or a *Cicero*.[44]

This notion of ancient virtue tested and desiderated in eloquence had descended, as I have said, to the ideology of authorship more generally considered. Hence, in his treatment of the military memoirs of Xenophon and Caesar, Dalzel is interested in their "conduct", not as soldiers only, but also as authors: the heroism of their histories mutates into their texts as "the utmost modesty and humility", where it is favourably compared with the anonymous "generality of travellers and memoir-writers in modern times, who are constantly disgusting their readers with their incessant repetition of the word *I*!"[45] We may note Dalzel's scornful exclusion of heroic possibility in the terms "generality" and, with its suggestion of mere professional devotion to book-making, "memoir-writers". Another instance of this same ideology of

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[43] Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. A.B.Gough, Oxford, 1915 (1726), Book III, Ch.7, p.221.
[44] *Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, 3 vols, London, 1758, vol.I, Preface, p.iii.
[45] *Lectures on the Ancient Greeks*, vol.II, pp.303-304.

virtuous authorship, with the same exemplars, appears in the Scottish teacher James Elphinston's poem *Education*:

> A Xenophon in wit and war, we see,
> Could form a heroe, or a heroe be [...]
> Who could but Xenophon, like Cesar, fight?
> Who could, like Xenophon, but Cesar, write?"[46]

This line of thought gave such texts a commanding prestige.

In England, it was not for another hundred years or more that classical studies felt that threat to their supremacy which Dalzel was addressing in our period. But at that future time, English classicists were to make the same ethical apology for their culture which the Scotch were making in the eighteenth century. Rudyard Kipling's short story 'Regulus' is a dramatisation of that apology, showing how a Latin text (Horace's account of Regulus in his Ode V of Book III) incorporates itself, by the process of classroom study, into the ideology and conduct of a group of English boys. As such, the story illustrates the thinking which I have just been describing, and in addition it hints at a development of them which I shall also touch upon. The story was written in 1911, but set in about 1880, when Classics in English public schools was just starting to give ground to modern subjects – "Our newly established Modern Side" – represented in Kipling's story mainly by Chemistry. Therefore Horace is made "a text for a discourse on manners, morals, and respect for authority as distinct from bottled gases", and it is to the Chemistry master that the Latinist Mr King summarises his case: "Character – proportion – background. That is the essence of the Humanities." But essentially King is setting his classical values against modernity in general: he compares, to take only one of many instances, "evil-minded commercial Carthage" to Manchester. In stressing this opposition, and in locating virtue, according to classical tradition, in a patrician heroism, both that of Regulus as a patriot, and that of Horace as his wise spokesman ("*He*

[46] London, 1763: quotation from p.39, ll. 240-41, and p.74, ll. 227-28. This text was in the St Andrews Library, as an accession from Stationer's Hall in its year of publication (Curators' Reports, p.54).

knew!"), King tends toward that stratified ethics which is suggested in his untextual epithet for Regulus, "a gentleman".[47]

Returning to eighteenth-century Scotland, we will find this same line of thought, and again it was one which answered to an existing desire within the universities: that desire for polish and gentility of which the Library interior itself was so clear an expression. A classical training was promoted as the peculiar and necessary property of a gentleman. "No gentleman", Dalzel says in his Lecture XV, "ought to be without a moderate skill in this sort of literature", and his discussion of that literature is characterised by a sense of its class significance. The Greek chorus, for instance, is contrasted with "the awkward and greasy figures who fill the orchestras of our theatres". In the same cast of thought, but perhaps more appealing, is his presentation in Lecture XXI of Robert Wood and his celebrated *Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer*. This "very elegant and polite scholar" is shown visiting Homeric scenes "in company with two friends, Mr Bouverie and Mr Dawkins", making in particular an "excursion" (then a key word in genteel leisure) to "the *Campus ubi Troja fuit*". The result, expressed "with a beauty of language, and a warmth of feeling, peculiar to true classic taste" is the "quarto volume" in question (a copy of which was bought by St Andrews University in 1776). Dalzel's picture of classical research suggests just that sort of sociable and gentlemanly scholarship which was being promoted by the Scottish intelligensia at that time; we have seen it in detail in my first chapter. It was not, certainly, Ruddiman's sort of scholarship, which indeed Dalzel seems specifically to exempt as "that bastard sort [...] confined to philology and verbal criticism, and overlooking all fine taste, all beauty of composition".[48] But in bidding for the task of outfitter to the polite mind it had the advantage also of being untainted by the type of pedantry which

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[47] Rudyard Kipling, 'Regulus' in *A Diversity of Creatures*, London, 1917, pp. 247, 250-51, 269, 250, 245, and 239.

[48] *Lectures on the Ancient Greeks*, vol.I, p.374; vol.II, p.133 and pp.76-77; Preface, p.vii.

was associated with studies in native literature – at any rate in pre-Augustan native literature: the type which Pope's *Dunciad* ridicules in Theobald and his "Gothic Vatican [i.e.library]! of Greece and Rome / Well purg'd".[49] In an anthology of statements of the "classic taste" as it prevailed in Britain in the eighteenth century, Patrick Crutwell concludes that, according at least to one contemporary school of thought, "erudition in one's own or any modern language was contemptible – scarcely, indeed, erudition at all".[50]

Here then was an established literary discipline, whose title to both moral and social values was powerfully endorsed by that metropolitan culture for which Scottish universities were hoping to fit their students. But those who were promoting it as the proper home for a wider study of literature had yet one more merit to claim for it. Kipling's story 'Regulus' shows that it was not by digressive sermonising that the form-master made Horace "a text for a discourse on manners, morals, and respect for authority": the civilising of Mr King's "barbarians" is effected in the effort to render Horace in English – "With feeling and Comprehension if that be possible".[51] This business of translation was not, then, regarded as an inconvenient necessity of the subject. It was, rather, the very exercise which made those values which I have been speaking of – literary appreciation, virtue, politeness – transmissible to the student. And the process of transmission, by the medium of language, was also of necessity an education in the use of the receiving language – an entry, then, into the field of modern literature and composition.

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[49] *The Dunciad Variorum* , ed. James Sutherland, London, 1943 (1729), p.78 (Book I, ll.125-26).

[50] 'The Eighteenth Century: a Classical Age?' *Arion*, vol.VII, no.1, Spring, 1968, pp.110-32. It is notable, incidentally, that the first four extracts which Crutwell selects to illustrate the conventional English notion of a classical culture as "a social requirement of the highest importance [...], a badge of status" are all from the writings of James Boswell, a Scot very sensitive to what made for social position in the larger metropolitan scene.

[51] *A Diversity of Creatures*, p.240.

I will say something now of the tradition and reputation of this exercise. In order to do so, I need to qualify my earlier account of the opposition to classical education whose spokesmen, as I have identified them, were Locke, Rollin, and Sheridan. Certainly their questioning of a dead-language curriculum gave impetus to the new Rhetoric, with its vernacular texts and bearings. But they were opponents rather of the extravagant use of Latin in education than of its study as such. In particular they deplored the exercises in Latin composition which dominated English and French education in their time. Locke complains, for instance, of the "Themes and Verses in Latin" which were "constantly every where pressed, to the racking of Children's inventions beyond their Strength".[52] Sheridan regards this emphasis upon the "insignificant" skill of writing in Latin as the characteristic fault of English education. His title, of course, is *British Education*, but the practice which he and Locke deplore had become much less common in Scottish schools and universities: Latin verse-making, in particular, was almost disused.[53] No doubt this desuetude reflected the decline in Scottish Latinity which I have already spoken of, for themes and verses are the more testing exercises.

However, the less testing variety of exercise in language which did remain, the version or translation, was just that sort which enabled the student to study the ancient language and literature, and at the same time to cultivate a skill in the use of his own tongue.[54] On a national scale, this had been recognised and promoted as a means to the improvement of English since the 16th century. A more recent statement of the case had been made by Dryden in his prefatory lines 'To the Earl of Roscommon, on his excellent Essay on Translated Verse'. Tracing, through a history of translation, the progress of "our Tongue" towards "perfection", he

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[52] *Educational Writings*, p.299.

[53] See M.L.Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain*, p.137.

[54] Note that although the terms "version" and "translation" are usually synonymous in English, "version" in Scotland has commonly meant what in England is called a "theme" – i.e. translation into the foreign language. It is therefore not always clear which of the two exercises a given writer has in mind.

looks forward to a time when it will be equal to the demands of Homer and Virgil, the time when

Our English Palace opens wide in State;
And without stooping they may pass the Gate.[55]

Translation, in fact, is not just a way of representing ancient greatness in a modern language; it is the means by which that language is made great enough for the task. Here, then, is a direct line of communication between the best of ancient and modern literature.

This way of valuing translation was readily associated with a patriotic interest. In the *Essay* itself, Roscommon makes translation a matter of rivalry with the French:

Vain are our Neighbours' Hopes, and Vain their Cares,
The Fault is more their Language's, than theirs [...]
The weighty Bullion of one Sterling Line,
Drawn to French Wire, would thro' whole Pages shine.

Each translation is a national accomplishment:

Theocritus does now to Us belong;
And Albion's Rocks repeat his Rural Song.[56]

Much the same imagery (and the same tonic diction, including the patriotic term "Albion") is used by William Wilkie in 'A Dream in the manner of Spenser', a poem printed as an appendix to the second edition of his *Epigoniad*.[57] The poet imagines Homer commending his management of English in the epic poem:

You force a barbarous northern tongue to ply,
And bend it to your purposes with ease;
Tho' rough as Albion's rocks, and hoarser than the seas.

Here again is the notion of training the language by emulation.[58]

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[55] Dryden's lines appear as a prologue in Roscommon's *Poems*, London, 1717.
[56] In *Poems*, 1717, pp.5 and 9.
[57] London, 1759 (1st edition, Edinburgh, 1757).
[58] *The Epigoniad* is indeed an emulation rather than a translation of Homer. Such emulation is something which James Hall remembers about Wilkie when he discusses *The Epigoniad* in his *Travels in Scotland* (vol.I, p.128): "With the writers of Greece, poets, historians, philosophers, he was familiarly acquainted, and could describe, and even imitate, the distinguishing turn or manner of each." But Wilkie makes clear that *The Epigoniad* is intended for judgement as an

With it also, this time, there is a history of personal effort, showing translation as a private test and discipline – not only in the words "force", "ply", and "bend", but also in the poem's context, the assessment of Wilkie's efforts by a pedagogical Homer.

Wilkie's poem ends, of course, with the evanescence of Homer,

and I, waking, found
Myself again by Fortha's pleasant stream.
Homewards I stepp'd, in meditation drown'd.

This poem presents an interesting picture of cultural communications: Wilkie has brought Homer through English into Scotland, and in doing so has won the approval of antiquity for modern literary labour, has improved the "barbarous northern tongue" (is the epithet deliberately multi-referential: to English, to Scots, and to Wilkie's own "tongue"?), and has given Scotland a place in modern literature. Wilkie's *Dream*, the afterword to a work of classical piety, puts those aims which we find in Watson, Barron, Blair, and the other new rhetoricians – Scottish access to modern British culture, the improvement of the educated Scot's English, and the endorsement and empowering of English literature – firmly into the classical tradition.

We can now see how well the exercise of translation answered the concerns of those educationists who wanted more English in the syllabus. They too had felt the rivalry of "our Neighbours": this is the phrase which Locke, like Roscommon, has just used when he says that "Polishing and enriching their Tongue is no small Business among them".[59] Sheridan, in *British Education*, expressly quotes Locke on this point (as I have mentioned above, on p.173), and goes on to say that Greek and Latin should be learned by students as a means "towards illustrating their own language": private learning and national interest are identified here, as indeed it is Sheridan's thesis to prove that they must be.[60] These interests

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eighteenth-century equivalent of Homeric epic when he brings Homer himself forward to do the judging.

[59] *Educational Writings*, p.300.

[60] *British Education*, p.244.

could be served without de-classicising the syllabus, as both the longer and the more immediate history of translation had demonstrated. It is therefore not surprising that Charles Rollin, for all his "antipathie pour le thème", and his concern for a useful and French-directed education, nevertheless devotes a very large part of his *Belles Lettres* to the exercise, in one form or another, of translation, as I will now show.[61]

Because Rollin's *Belles Lettres* did draw the attention of Rhetoric teachers to the primacy of the native language in practical life, and because it pointedly begins with a course in the study of French, we might overlook the fact that the literary texts which supply the exercises and discussions are nevertheless mostly from the Latin and Greek classics. Rollin in fact warns teachers of the dangers of French poetry: pupils will enjoy its "roses without thorns", and be alienated from other studies "infinitely more useful and important". The total time which he expects to be spent on French language and literature is in fact "half an hour every day, or every other day [...], whilst all the rest is taken up in learning the two other tongues". So when he recalls that one of his chosen authors had been a Rhetoric pupil of his, and that this M.Mongault had "even then distinguished himself by a particular taste and an exact study of the French tongue", it is actually as a translator of Cicero that he brings forward this paragon of the vernacular. Translation is indeed the dominating device in Rollin's French course. Of the four subjects into which he divides that course – grammar, reading, translation, and composition – translation receives much the fullest treatment (42 of the 63 pages). Even in the chapters either side of it, analogues of translation appear. In 'French Reading', Rollin suggests that as soon as students have "got a tincture of Greek and Latin, it will be proper, by the reading of authors, to give them a taste of the genius and character of the French tongue, in making them compare it with these languages"

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[61] Quotation from Ferté, *Rollin, sa vie, ses oeuvres, et l'université de son temps*, p.308.

(we note his translator's well-judged "these": Greek and Latin are still in the foreground). And the brief fourth chapter, 'Composition', is mainly concerned with the culminating exercise of the course ("au sortir de la rhétorique", as the French original says), which is to be a free version of some outstanding Greek or Latin piece: the *Life of Agricola*, by Tacitus, is suggested.[62]

Rollin's chapter 'Translation' itself does, of course, show some interest in the study and exercise of translation as a peculiar genre: students will accordingly aim for "that point of perfection, in which the excellency of this kind of writing consists". But the pursuit will recruit and improve all the literary faculties. It will, for instance, involve detailed appreciation of the chosen texts: students "will thereby become acquainted with their authors, and insensibly conceive their height of fancy, manner of writing, and way of thinking". Then, the discussion of translations in parallel (sometimes of two printed translations, together with versions made by the students themselves) "may, in my opinion, be very serviceable to young people [...] it is a good means of forming their judgement". The finer artistries of style will demand special attention – metaphor particularly, "usually the torture and despair of translators". And of course this appreciation of the original texts must be converted into prose that "will answer to them in our own tongue", so that "Nothing can be more useful to youth towards making them learn the rules and beauties of the French tongue, than to let them translate such passages as these".[63]

Rollin's was an insistent and authoritative statement of the primacy of classical studies. In so far as he provided the philosophy for vernacular literary studies, Rollin did so as a convinced classicist, one who expected such studies rather to arise from a primary attention to the ancient texts, than to justify themselves independently.[64] In the face of such strong, established traditions as

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[62] *Belles Lettres*, vol.I, pp.278, 77-78, 107, and 66.
[63] *Belles Lettres*, vol.I, pp.78, 82, 89, 93, 78, and 118.
[64] It is not surprising, therefore, that Rollin's influence and popularity actually

I have shown were then attached to Classics, and of the apparent fitness of those traditions to satisfy modern educational needs in Scotland, how indeed could vernacular Rhetoric do that justifying? It is by putting that new subject in this larger classical context, rather than simply in that of the "silly set of Books", that we will be able to judge what it was able to do to match its true competitor: what it could improve, what it was bound to lose, and therefore what the true nature of the alteration was, when English Literature not Classics became the setting for mainstream literary studies. That is what I shall now do, and I shall consider first the question of moral authority.

The moral bearing of printed literature, as eighteenth-century educationists understood it, is a theme which I have already discussed in Chapter III. Here, I wish to treat it specifically as the legatee of that convention which regarded virtue as "the natural result of a classical education" (see p.180 above). I have suggested that this habit of thought, as it worked in classical studies, might be traced back to the idea of the virtuous orator, but that it was brought forward into the textual world as the hero writing well – at least in relation to a canon of authoritative writers. Certainly there was such a canon of Greek and Latin authors, whereas there was no equivalent native canon: equivalent, that is, in the sense of having been fed into contemporary consciousness as meritorious in generations of classrooms and lecture halls. That is the implication of something Jonathan Kramnick has said in *Eighteenth Century Life*'s recent 'Forum on Canon Formation': "It is true that no eighteenth-century university offered a formal course in English

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declined as the new Rhetoric took hold. At St Andrews, in the period 1753 to 1757, volumes I to IV of his *Belles Lettres* were borrowed 8, 7, 6, and 6 times respectively; between 1768 and 1772, 1, 1, 3, and 2 times. We may attribute this local change to Watson's teaching (there was some slight increase later: see Appendix II). It corresponded, however, to a national desuetude, which William Smellie, in his biography of Lord Kames, attributes to the "greater genius and greater utility" of that author's *Elements of Criticism*, a work in the new critical manner which was indeed also preferred at St Andrews (see William Smellie, *Literary and Characteristical Lives of John Gregory, Henry Home, Lord Kames, David Hume, and Adam Smith*, Edinburgh, 1800, p.132: facsimile reprint, Bristol, 1997).

Literature. The official canon, as promoted by the universities, was, in this sense, still Greco-Roman." He goes on to say, "To point to the status of universities is thus to introduce the classical canon as the anterior model of the English canon."[65] Now this deriving of an English canon from the classical one, in order as it were to substantiate English literature for educational purposes, is exactly what we can see Robert Watson doing in his Rhetoric lectures, as I will now show.

The English canon which emerges from Watson's lectures by mere frequency of allusion is also that one which he explicitly specifies and which eighteenth-century English culture as a whole, at least until the 1780s, agreed to revere: namely those writers of the late 17th and early 18th centuries who were now being called "Augustans".[66] These writers – Pope, Swift, and Addison primarily, but also Bolingbroke, Shaftesbury, and others – consciously related themselves and their work to the Augustan period of Roman culture, and their reputation was based on that same relation: "The reign of Queen Anne flourished with a set of writers which would have done honour to the brightest period of the Augustan age".[67] These are the writers, as I say, whom Watson most often uses for his illustrations, and he does so in such a way as to assert the idea of succession. In his third chapter, for instance, he has this sentence: "The only way of giving an idea of the Beauty of Language is by enumerating the particulars of which it consists, such as smooth and harmonious Periods, Metaphors, Personification, &c., on account of which particulars it is, we say that Xenophon's, Julius Caesar's, and Mr Addison's stile is beautiful."[68] The "is" and the "Mr" (set, as it is, beside the names of two great antique generals) make Watson's claim for modern

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[65] Jonathan Brody Kramnick, 'The Aesthetics of Revisionism, a Response', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, vol.XXI, n.s.3, Nov., 1997, pp.82-85.

[66] See for instance, Joseph Warton's *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope*, London, 1756, pp.160-61, and Goldsmith's 'Account of the Augustan Age of England', *The Bee*, vol.VIII, November 24th, 1759.

[67] *Gentleman's Magazine*, no.759, Sept. 1786, quoted in Patrick Crutwell, 'The Eighteenth Century: a Classical Age?', pp.110-32.

[68] 'Treatise on Rhetorick', fol.3r.

parity here a daringly unapologetic one. When, near the end of Chapter XXXIV, Watson proposes to "conclude all with Characters of Authors", his chosen authors are Swift, Addison, Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke, Dryden, and Pope, adding as counter-models Butler and Johnson. His last paragraph of the chapter, an important statement of his canonical genealogy, is also an up-ending of the accepted hierarchy of his time, referring the Latin authors to the Greek, and the Greek to the English: "Of the Greek Writers Thucidides seems to belong to the same Class with Bolingbroke, Xenophon to that of Addison, and Herodotus to that of Dr Swift. Of the Latine Writers Tacitus and Sallust to the Class of Thucydides, Caesar to that of Xenophon, Persius and Justin to that of the Rambler".[69] We note that only the English authors stand still here, as reference points. Probably Watson's students would indeed have felt more familiar with the English authors in question than with the Greek and Latin ones, and Watson's reference forwards in this way is therefore pedagogically sound: but, in making it, he re-orders the power-relations between these cultures, and boldly validates contemporary literature as a substantial and permanent property in its readers.

I have been suggesting that classical literature, and the old Rhetoric which was based upon it, had for their literary theory or ideology the paradigm of the heroic orator, however much this had to be implicitly or expressly adjusted for incorporation into textual discourses. Now, the characterising reforms of the new Rhetoric were exactly such as to counter that ideology: not just those two reforms in favour of books and reading which Watson announces (I will return to them below), but also of course that shift which I have just shown him making into a modern literature wholly conditioned by the printing press, and therefore essentially bookish. Watson, we have noticed, makes Addison the descendant of Xenophon and Caesar. We have also seen how Dalzel made for the latter two authors a heroic continuity from historical conduct

[69] 'Treatise on Rhetorick', fols 69v-70r.

into writing. How little such thinking could make sense of Addison is rather obvious: the very title of his most-read work, *The Spectator*, confusing as it does the titles of the man (Mr Spectator) and of the medium, implies the new self-sufficiency of the printed text, now less a form of address than a person-substitute (Mr Spectator was, besides, not simply a pseudonym for Addison, but an authorial composite). A helpful comparison may be made here with some titles which I have mentioned in previous chapters in this same connection. The title of Dodsley's popular self-education manual, *The Preceptor*, does not refer the book to its subject in the world beyond it, as, say, Thomas Elyot's *The Governour* does (that book is *about* being a guardian), but announces what the book itself is, as replacement person. The titles of *The Scotch Preacher* and of *The Scotch Minister's Assistant* likewise seem to classify their volumes not as vehicles of clerical effort, but rather as summary analogues of the relevant clerical function itself. The same sort of suggestion was being made in many other titles of the time: in *The Adventurer*, *The Guardian*, *The Private Tutor to the British Youth*, and so on.

This shift from rhetoric as some version or derivative of public speech to rhetoric as typified in the book, and correspondingly from Rhetoric as orator-training to Rhetoric as appreciation, jeopardised that old association which I have mentioned between discourse and virtue. Robert Watson and Hugh Blair both address this problem. That faculty which properly assumes priority in literary appreciation as opposed to literary production – the faculty of taste – is something which (as we have noticed) they both naturally discuss at the start of their lectures, and both hope to ally it with virtue. "Improvement in taste", says Watson, "is nearly connected with Improvement in Virtue."[70] "Taste", says Blair, "is in its native tendency, moral and purifying."[71] In both instances the case for this alliance is cautiously qualified: "nearly connected" and "native

[70] 'Treatise on Rhetorick', fol.2v.
[71] *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, vol.I, p.17.

tendency" suggest something less than full confidence, and Blair quickly shows that this new ground does not have the safety of the old Quintilian formulation: "One thing is certain", he says a few lines after the statement just quoted, "that, without possessing the virtuous affections in a strong degree, no man can attain eminence in the sublime parts of eloquence".[72] But this line of thought does show us that it was indeed the old idea of the good orator that these new rhetoricians were hoping to supply through the notion of virtuous taste. Watson in fact closes more seriously with the issue later on in his lectures, and he signals his attempt there to give moral substance to the new Rhetoric by a change in manner, from the traditional, essentially taxonomic method hitherto (and later on) employed ('Of Rhyme', 'Of Description', etc.), to a more polemical, philosophical approach, suggested in his chapter headings 'That the exercise of the Passions is an end worthy of the highest kind of Poetry ', or 'Why Poetry should resemble real life' (the titles of Chapters V and VI of Part II).[73]

I am not concerned here with Watson's theory itself, which I have already discussed in Chapter III. Rather, I hope to have shown that a new aetiology of communicated virtue was necessary when books and private reading became the paradigms of Rhetoric. Essentially, virtue had to be evicted from the orator and domiciled in the self-sufficient book, or at least in the relationship between book and reader. Without that re-thinking, the new literary studies could not hope to challenge the prestige of Classics: with it, the way was clear for a momentous advance towards printed-book culture. In fact, the history of English Literature shows how very successful that re-thinking was in supporting the subject, construed as an essentially moral discipline, for nearly two hundred years.

However, the two reforms to Rhetoric which Robert Watson announced - the incorporation of a self-sufficient critical function,

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[72] *Lectures*, vol.I, p.17.
[73] 'Treatise on Rhetorick', fols 88v and 89v.

and the inclusion of all types of discourse - involved some forfeitures which were not recouped. I consider first the promotion of criticism: "To what follows then you may give the Name of Rhetorick, or Criticisms as you please; if they deserve the one they will deserve the other also." There is no other force in this announcement than its tendency to move Rhetoric away from writing and towards reading. Not that Watson or the other new rhetoricians did wish to make that move absolute. We know from Boswell that "composition" was "a favourite topic of Dr Watson's".[74] However, we need to decide what Watson meant by the word. In the essay mentioned earlier in this present chapter, Neil Rhodes interprets the term "composition", appearing in the English translation of Rollin, as "what we would now call creative writing".[75] That might be a hard interpretation to justify in detail. Certainly it would not quite fit Watson's thinking. When he and Samuel Johnson discuss the subject, Watson proposes for his example the writing of sermons. More broadly, he would surely have had in mind the sort of paper which was being read to the Theological Society during his term as its praeses between 1767 and 1768: 'Is Virtue its own reward or Vice its own punishment?', 'Whether a private or public Education is to be preferred', 'Is ridicule the test of truth?'.[76] Some themes jotted on the endpaper of a St Andrews copy of Blair's lectures suggest that Rhetoric classes continued to demand that sort of composition under Watson's successors: 'Do the blessings of peace compensate for the woes of war?', 'Whether does our attendance [?] at theatre better our morals or does it make them worse?'[77] This is indeed what the eighteenth century was calling "literature", but not what we would call "creative writing". In two instances, it is indeed *about* creative literature, in the way we now associate with academic criticism.

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[74] *Journal*, p.35 (August 19th).
[75] In Crawford, ed., *The Scottish Invention of English Literature*, p.27.
[76] Theological Society Minutes, 1760-86, St Andrews University Library MS UY911, entries for March 9th, March 23rd, and March 30th, 1767.
[77] *Lectures*, 1785, copy class-marked sPN187.B6D85, vol.I.

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And this notion of literary study as essentially *about* the fixed points of printed texts is the rising element in the discipline, as opposed to the notion of literary practice which was implicit in the word "Rhetoric" when Watson came to revise it.

I do not suggest that the old Rhetoric was itself a "creative" subject. We have seen, in fact, that it was hardly a subject at all at St Andrews in the earlier eighteenth century. Nor was there, in the Classics which I have been proposing as the real *vis-a-vis* to the new Rhetoric, anything which corresponds to our "creative writing". But there was a substantial creative element which we have already encountered in the practice of translation. Recent studies in translation theory have revived the sense of its creativity, but there could hardly be a more impassioned claim for that than the account of it which Charles Rollin gives in his *Belles Lettres*. I have already spoken of that account, in connection with translation as the medium for those literary and moral values predicated of classical literature. Here I wish to speak about translation understood as a creative discipline, not only in the sense that it demanded artistry, but also in the sense that it asserted the common stream of creativity in all writing, as opposed to that reifying of canonical texts which was to become characteristic of English Literature. A passage from Rollin's discussion of a French translation of Pliny will provide a sample of his approach.

> These Latin words, *Et multum ineptos labores, ut primum fuerit occasio, relinquo*, might have been translated thus, *Quittez au plûtot ces occupations frivoles*. The metaphorical turn has a much greater grace, *Rompez au plûtot cet enchaînement de soins frivoles, qui vous y attachent*. And here we should dwell upon the just choice of words, which run on still in the same metaphor, *Rompez, enchaînement, attachent*, and show that the French adds two beautiful thoughts to the Latin; *enchaînement de soins frivoles*, instead of saying simply, *soins frivoles*, [for] *ineptos labores*, which is far

> more emphatical, and shews how these idle occupations continually succeed each other. *Qui vous y attachent*, is not in the Latin, but was necessary to make the period more smooth.[78]

The strength of Rollin's discussion here does not consist in points of critical appreciation: his terms – "grace", "beautiful", "just" – are the imprecise and insubstantial critical currency of his time and a long time after. It consists rather in his assumption of the homogeneity or continuity of all literary practice, a fact which translation forces upon his students and which naturally mounts back to the source text, making that too felt as accessible to revision. The French in this case does revise the Latin, turning a "plain and natural expression" into an extended metaphor. The phrase "might have been translated thus" haunts Rollin's literary discussions with its aesthetic empiricism, affecting all texts: "The poet might have said [...]", "The last member would perhaps have been more graceful, if [...]", "He does not say [...]", "The writers of the Augustan ages would have writ [...]". Such speculative comparisons appear equally in Rollin's Rhetoric proper (his third "book"), where indeed the practice of translation continues in use as a critical device.[79]

For it is not, evidently, as independently creative exercises that Rollin's translations are proposed to teachers. Rather, his purpose is suggested in the phrase which Dalzel uses in his own similarly positive discussion of translation: it is a means "to understand and enter into those beauties" which belong to the original.[80] The creative element was integrated with the effort of appreciation. When that element was lost to literary criticism, appreciation necessarily became more theoretical in its approach, more detached from the literature it surveyed.

In this respect, Rollin's literary technique is more readily matched in the work of the St Andrews classicist who might have

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[78] *Belles Lettres*, vol.I, p.86.
[79] *Belles Lettres*, vol.I, p.256, vol.II, p.153, vol.I, p.309, vol.II, p.354.
[80] *Substance of Lectures*, vol.I, p.357.

been Professor of Eloquence at St Andrews in 1720, Francis Pringle, than in that of the new rhetoricians there. The University Library has a manuscript commonplace book which Francis Pringle kept, and it contains some evidence of his literary thinking. In the copy of a letter which advises his correspondent on a course of Latin studies, Pringle describes his students, like Rollin's, comparing their translations. In other letters, he discusses some translations of verse, by himself and others, both into and out of the classical languages. Here, disputed points produce vigorous discussion of literary matters. "D.S. of Scotstarvet", for instance, had complained about Pringle's use of the un-English word "leal". Let us make it English, then, answers Pringle: "Pope would thank us for it upon occasion, and Dryden too, if he was alive, and no more stick to say a Leal bargain, a Leal Virgin, than to say a Riven Oak, or revive some old expressive word from father Chaucer". In the freely improvising business of translation, Pringle has happened upon the merits of a Scots word, and here justifies it and more largely the principle implied in it – authorising himself, incidentally, by reference to the two leading translator-poets of the time.[81]

Perhaps we see the same thing happening in some scribal amendments to the Library's copy of a French-English Molière, a work much borrowed there, and much written-in, during the eighteenth century. Here the printed translation "mawkin" for the French "mijaurée" has been glossed, in manuscript, with the Scots word "baudy" (short for "baudrons").[82] Not that in either case a national property in words is being asserted: the human context in the Molière play modifies "baudy" (otherwise more purely an animal term than "mawkin") as much as the word re-nationalises the dialogue. Similarly, Pringle's "leal" is offered not as a self-conscious vernacularism but as an enrichment of standard polite English, the English of Dryden and Pope. The attitude is wholly

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[81] St Andrews University Library MS LF1111.P81C99: pp.87-88 and (for the quoted discussion) pp.44-45.

[82] *Select Comedies of Mr de Molière*, 8 vols, London, 1732: vol.II, p.121, in the St Andrews University Library copy class-marked sPQ1821.A1D32.

positivistic, and belongs to that same restless empiricism which we find in Rollin's *Belles Lettres*. It was an attitude that made this particular language question (diction), and others, more amenable to liberal solutions than they were in normative, philosophical argument. When William Barron, for instance, touches on the question of Scotticisms, he does so in the course of formulating a general rule, namely that "Purity is [...] violated by the use of words and phrases which are provincial, vulgar, antiquated, or novel".[83] Pre-empting particular cases in this way, he conforms to his own stated procedure, which is "to descend from what is more general to what is more particular", the opposite of the translator's method.

No doubt too much can be made of a passing detail in Pringle's records. It might be rash to suggest that a Rhetoric which had descended from Pringle in his Chair of Eloquence would have allowed Scots literature – and implied within it the oral culture of Scotland – into the curriculum two hundred years or so earlier than in fact happened. But it is certain that the practice of translation had provided Classics with a creative technique of literary appreciation for which the literary studies descending from the new Rhetoric had (and have even now) no equivalent.

Besides, translation, whether as student exercise or as professional labour, expressly remakes texts and thereby tends to question their fixity (particularly, perhaps, in the understandings of those whose knowledge of the originals is insecure). In eighteenth-century editions of the classics, this unfixity of texts was often vigorously signalled, in typographical devices which I shall identify below, with the result that in these cases the printed book was abetting the student's creative "entry into" the text and into literary regions beyond it, rather than fixing the text and making of the student a spectator writing about it, as the printing of definitive English texts necessarily did.

The instability which I am postulating was hinted at merely in

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[83] *Lectures on Belles Lettres and Logic*, vol.I, p.129 (Lecture VIII).

the titles by which the different editions of the principal authors – and especially the different translations – were commonly known: that is, commonly identified on the spines, and recorded in the Receipt Books. Thus a student at St Andrews in 1770 wishing to read Horace would have had the choice between *Horatius Beatteii* (1713), Creech's *Horace* (1720), Cuningame's *Horace* (1721), Watson's *Horace* (1743, 1747), Hurd's *Horace* (1768), and no doubt other editions similarly labelled. Of course the text behind these various appropriations was more or less absolute Horace, as, say, Swift's texts were strictly Swift. Such differences as there might have been between editions would not anyway have made an impression on students. But the hint which such titles nevertheless offered, jeopardising that "state of completion" which, as Walter Ong says, is the characteristic condition of printed texts, was very conspicuously taken up in the interiors of some of these books.[84] David Watson's *Horace*, as completed by Samuel Patrick, was one such book, but I will use as my example Patrick's own edition of Terence, the edition in which most contemporary student reading of that playwright at St Andrews was done.

In Patrick's *Terence*, the Latin original is only one of several presentations of the text appearing on each double-page spread.[85] The basic Latin text is on the right-hand page. Next to the Latin there, in the right margin and flowing leftward underneath it, is a doctored Latin text (the "Ordo", in italics) whose revised word-order and bridged elipses accommodates it more nearly to the idiom of English, and in particular to the English translation which is printed on the left-hand page. Running under these three texts is the "annotation", consisting partly of notes and partly of commentary. On those pages where a new scene begins, there is also on the left-hand page an English "argument", summarising that scene, and this "argument" appears in Latin at the equivalent position on the right.

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[84] *Orality and Literacy*, p.132.
[85] *Terence's Comedies*, ed. Samuel Patrick, 2 vols. London, 1750 (1745).

The effect of this layout is necessarily to privilege the English version, since this has the freedom of its page-width at least, while the Latin is boxed in so that its verse lines are commonly run-on. Moreover, the English sits on the left of the spread where, as the preface-writer of Watson's *Horace* (probably Patrick himself) explains, "the Reader may cast his Eye upon that first, which he understands best".[86] But Patrick makes no claim for the merit of his translation, apart from its lucidity and accuracy; he specifically acknowledges that it lacks "elegance". And it, too, is only one element, however important, in a set of English presentations which Patrick furnishes of Terence's meaning. We might allow Terence's Latin text to be at least the starting-point for the transmission of his discourses, if it were not for the "titles" which appear at the head of each new play and, in giving brief performance histories, remind readers of the derivation of these plays from Menander and Apollodorus. Terence himself, then, is a transition only. In *Paratexts: thresholds of interpretation*, Gerard Genette suggests that modern critical editions, with their interest in alternative versions, now "help blur the notion of text".[87] That was indeed, in the eighteenth century, the effect of Patrick's editions of the classics.

Patrick was making educational texts: texts 'adapted to the Capacities of Youth at School', as his long title to *Terence's Comedies* puts it. That blurring of the notion of text which I have imputed to his page-design was incidental to his express purpose, which was to make learning and reading Latin easier for students. And in fact his modulations of the original text can be seen as a sequence by which the remoter Latin (its remoteness indeed suggested by the effect of three-dimensional recession which the frame of revised Latin in italics gives it) is brought progressively nearer to the intelligence of readers: not to their reading minds only, but finally, in the extreme abbreviation of the "arguments",

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[86] *The Odes, Epodes and Carmen Seculare of Horace*, London, 1747 (1741), Preface, p.vi.

[87] Paris, 1987, as translated by Jane E. Lewin, Cambridge, 1997, p.339.

to that mental note-form in which such literary texts can be retained in the mind, and re-used in either writing or speech. In books conventionally laid out, it is perhaps in the footnotes that the reader feels most nearly addressed, because the writer of them, whether author or editor, is then ranged alongside the reader, as an observer of the text: brisk marginal engagements with the footnotes in the Library's copy of Johnson and Steevens' *Shakespeare* give some support to this suggestion.[88] Where exactly in Patrick's enriched editions there is this nearest approach to reader-conversation is an arguable point, but there is certainly a strong sense of the variability of distances in printed discourse, the three-dimensionality which I have mentioned. And although Terence's own text is there to see, and is visually particularised as most remote, the blurring or unstabilising which I have spoken of allows each modulation to seem to be a variety of Terence, rather than a phase of editorial pedagogy.

The scenic "arguments" are a small detail in Patrick's pages, but I think that they are important here. They are not an editorial inheritance, as the poetic prologues and plot summaries for the whole plays are; they are modern aids to English readers, and their translation into Latin is quite unnecessary. No doubt the Latin version helps to maintain the typographical balance of the page-spread, but it has the effect also – and perhaps the motive too – of demonstrating that the sequence from language to language was still reciprocal, that what these complex pages picture is not elaborate servitude to a fixed original, but a free traffic within a common realm of literature.

There were no school editions, equivalent to Patrick's, of vernacular texts in the mid-eighteenth century. There were of course collections of "beauties", and there were "Ladies'" versions, and these were evidently in use at St Andrews. But they were

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[88] *Plays of Shakespeare*, London, 10 vols, 1773 (Library copy class-marked sPR2752.J7D72), vol.I, pp.44 and 138. As I will mention in Chapter VII, *The Weekly Magazine* printed its footnotes in italic type, as it did direct speech. See, on this subject, Genette, *Paratexts*, pp.319 et seq.

simplified rather than managed texts. Some early English works were now being given scholarly editions: I have just mentioned the footnotes in one such. But that treatment was not being given to the Augustan authors preferentially studied at St Andrews. A striking contrast appears, then, between the apparent absoluteness of those texts, and the fluidity or accessibility of the classical works. I suggest that this accessibility meant more than readability, that in fact it prompted that "entry into" of which Dalzel speaks. To make the point, I will return to Watson's *Horace* for a brief look at some details in another Patrick presentation, the eleventh ode in Horace's Book I.

This ode is especially rich in Patrick's variations. The commentary in his 'key' includes a stage-by-stage re-statement of the translation, not in identical words, and some of the Latin phrases are again separately glossed and explained in the "annotations". At the end of the 'key', Patrick provides two other translations, those by Sir Thomas Hawkins and Thomas Creech, which are printed side by side for readier comparison (three more translations are mentioned but not given). Thus treated, the last words of the ode, "quam minimum credula postero", actually appear in five different English versions. Needless to say, the polyphony implicit in such a presentation is fully evidenced, here as in the *Terence*, by variations in typography and layout (and we must remember, as a reading of Rollin's lesson-plans and of Kipling's 'Regulus' indeed reminds us, that any number of home-produced versions, written and oral, accurate and derisory, were being elicited in class-work to enrich that polyphony). There is both a challenge and a permissiveness about these pages, quite unlike the prescriptive, idealising habit of the new Rhetoric: if we think of this profusion of voices, and then of its nearest equivalent there, Blair's perfectionist studies of the fine and the improvable in Addison (Lectures 20-23), the point is clear enough. It is no surprise that one of Robert Fergusson's neatest Scots poems is a version of this same ode ("Ne'er fash your thumb what gods decree"):

Patrick's pages, which Fergusson would surely have seen at St Andrews, invite such a response.[89]

It is not so surprising, either, that Fergusson's English poetry, "original" in a sense in which this version of Horace strictly was not, nevertheless is far more imitative – that is, of the English writers whom he had encountered in Robert Watson's Rhetoric or in his own reading. That new Rhetoric had no equivalent of the integrated creativity of classical studies, but I believe that by making the announcement with which we started this particular theme – the announcement that Rhetoric and criticism were the same thing – Robert Watson was accepting this forfeiture, and deliberately concentrating the subject in its newer function of close attention to finished texts. In this new Rhetoric, print did mean completion, and such qualifications of that as might appear in printed texts, as notes or variants, could only be directed towards at least an intended or notional finality. There was no means of making such texts, as they stood, prompts to renewed creativity, as the classical texts could be. The new Rhetoric, by making attention to vernacular writings its primary business, made a significant contribution to the authority of the press as the characteristic voice of literary art.

The same effect was implicit in that other reform which Robert Watson announced – the broadening of Rhetoric's proper scope from "one particular sort of Discourse viz; Publick Orations" to "all the different kinds of Discourse". I have already alluded to the basic premise of traditional Rhetoric which Watson corrects here, the paradigm of discourse as a public address, and I have shown its survival in that Rhetoric – in, for instance, Ward's *System of Oratory* – far into the eighteenth century, as well as in the ideology of classical studies in general (I instanced Dalzel's discussion of

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[89] *Poems*, vol.II, 1956, p.223. This poem was not printed in Fergusson's life-time, and its date is uncertain, but Alexander Grosart, in his biography of Fergusson, describes the MS (whereabouts now unknown) as "written in a very boyish hand", suggestive of a school exercise (see Grosart, *Robert Fergusson*, Edinburgh, 1898, p.53). McDiarmid, as editor of Fergusson's *Poems* (see vol.II p.318), doubts the "exercise", but the translation may well have been a student piece.

Xenophon and Caesar). I believe that this concept of the classical languages as primarily oral went beyond their social setting. James Boswell records a conversation between Dr Johnson and John Wilkes on the subject of literary quotation, in the course of which Johnson calls classical quotation "the parole of literary men all over the world". Wilkes, who seems to have been thinking of the quoting of English texts ("Shakespeare is chiefly quoted here [i.e. in England]"), had "censured it as pedantry". Johnson's word "parole" seems deliberately to counter this suggestion of bookishness by locating the freemasonry of classical culture not in books but in memory and sound.[90] This was a very natural way for a man with a traditional classical education to think – to think of Latin at least – since so much of his conditioning experience of it had been in the form of Latin verse-making, with its peculiar system of measure, what Thomas Ruddiman calls "that Accent and Quantity, in which the Grace and Beauty of it do chiefly consist". But Ruddiman reminds us that "quantity" was not a property of verse-Latin only. He insists on the primacy of sound as the medium of Latin generally, both in poetry and in prose. For prose, the proper authorities, he inevitably says, are Cicero and Quintilian, the "great Masters of Eloquence", who "shew what Feet are to be used in Composition, and what are to be avoided". Therefore, as to the teaching of Latin, Ruddiman urges that "the Master in prescribing his Lessons, should first of all himself read them with a clear, distinct, and audible Voice, with the due Accent and Pronunciation of each Syllable according to the Laws of the Language, and rigorously cause the same to be observed by his Disciples". But although Ruddiman considered that the "Elegancy and Musicalness" of Latin "surpasses all other Languages in the World", he thought of Greek too primarily in its audible form, as a "lofty and sonorous" language.[91]

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[90] *Life of Johnson*, p.1143 (Tuesday, May 8th, 1781).

[91] *Audi Alteram Partem*, pp. 55-56. In *Samuel Johnson and the Life of Reading* (London, 1997), Robert DeMaria argues that Latin and Greek texts maintained their auditory character even in private consumption, being resistant to the

To know these sounds was, as Johnson implies, essential to the freemasonry of classical culture. No doubt many Scots were feeling the same about English sounds and English culture, but that was a practical, not a literary concern. As to literature, it was true of English what Rollin complains of in French: "Quantity, which contributes exceedingly to the numbers and cadence of a discourse [again, not just in poetry], has no share in it; I mean in the manner 'tis used in Greek and Latin."[92] Indeed, Scottish discussions of languages purely as sound habitually treated as problematic those which, like the Saxon languages, tended towards collocations of consonants (see, for instance, Watson's own brief treatment of this subject, beginning "The Harshness which takes Place in some Languages more than in others [...]").[93] On the other hand, Scotsmen in print were now being praised for the purity of their English style, though they spoke with Scottish accents (I discuss the point in on pp.241-243, below). In Scotland, English was primarily a visual language, as Latin and Greek were not. To speak "high English" there, as a character in Jacob Ruddiman's *Tales and Sketches* does, was to speak "like a printit beuk".[94]

Now again, as with composition, there was no specific intention to abandon the oral part of Rhetoric in the universities. Barron, for instance, tried to run a class on eloquence (though without lasting success).[95] Hugh Blair felt the glamour of oratory almost as much as Sheridan did, and devoted ten lectures to it.[96] Nevertheless, the change to "all the different kinds of Discourse" which Watson announced had no other force than this: to demote eloquence, the sounded language, and to advance the printed book, not as

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silent reading which was otherwise becoming more common in Johnson's time (pp.13-14).

[92] *Belles Lettres*, vol.I, p.67.

[93] 'Treatise on Rhetorick', fol.4r.

[94] Edinburgh, 1828, p.186.

[95] 'Account of the Life and Character of the Late William Barron, A.M.F.R.S. Edinburgh, and Professor of Belles Lettres and Logic in the University of St Andrews', printed broadsheet in St Andrews University Library MS 36260.

[96] For Blair's "enthusiasm for the spoken", see Fiona Stafford, 'Hugh Blair's Ossian, Romanticism and the teaching of Literature', in *The Scottish Invention of English Literature*, ed. Crawford, pp.68-88 (especially pp.76-79).

standing for the speaker (or for his morals), but as a self-sufficient address.

I have been speaking of the effort which some Scottish classicists made to cast their subject as the proper matrix for literary studies as a whole – to prevent in fact the complete departure from their discipline of the Rhetoric which derived from it – and of the merits of their case, such as they were. In the event, this effort was so far from successful that Dalzel himself was subsequently to be called the interloper in such studies, blamably inclined to "trespass upon Blair".[97] Of course, the new Rhetoric did not desert classical cultures, nor therefore wholly forego the advantages which Classics had as an educational medium. But just in so far as it was "new", it took the practice of literary study away from the oral, public, participatory reference of the old Rhetoric and its classical context, and placed it in the setting which was to characterise its future: the essentially private and silent setting in which the reader as specialist encounters the printed book.

[97] *Edinburgh Review*, vol. XXXV, July 1821, p.305.

Chapter VI: Print and marginalia: contrasting cultures at St Andrews

In the previous chapter, I considered the relations between Classics and the new Rhetoric. Although this Rhetoric was breaking away from its classical heritage, I noticed that it did use the authority of that heritage where it could: in particular, Robert Watson offered a genealogy of canonical writers which provided his modern subject with its own set of classics, the standard writers who would format the new literary territory. In fact Watson's classics were, as I have suggested, more classical than their progenitors, in that they were more fixed as texts, less variable both in typographic imagery and in classroom use. And although the modern Rhetoric disowned the old composition-by-figures which had characterised the traditional form of the subject, it did not, at least in Watson's handling of it, abandon the taxonomic approach. His lectures reach at literary texts from pre-established categories of literary effect, theme, or genre (reminding us that the subject had only recently been nominally separated from Logic, and that Watson was still teaching both subjects). Standard authors were themselves approximations to, or exemplifications of, higher-category standards. The move towards "criticism", then, did not entail the desertion of prescriptive theory in favour of *ad hoc* appreciation. The detachment from Classics and the relinquishing of old compositional Rhetoric may have involved a significant loss of their creative elements – of translation or of the composition-centred practice of traditional Rhetoric – but there was no relaxation of the idealist or hierarchical conception of literature which likewise descended from them. That element, rather, received increased emphasis, and the new form of literary study was more insistently classical, being more interested in conclusive standards and centred more completely in the notion of the standard printed text, than the old.

This development, earlier chapters have shown, was part of a

much larger cultural re-location, which was transferring the moral and spiritual as well as literary capital of Scottish culture into the care of the printed book. Some impediments to this re-location we have observed, but the only substantial opposition from within Scottish culture so far noticed has been that of the orthodox ministers in the Presbyterian Church. I now wish to discuss another such opposition, where again a strong oral tradition met the newer print-culture. To do so I return to the St Andrews Library, whose shelves uniquely carried two strong and idiosyncratic statements of the two mentalities. The statements are to be found respectively in the donations made to the Library by the philanthropist Thomas Hollis, and in the marginalia which the University's students added to its printed books. These were indeed not consciously adversaries: their polemics were, we will find, contemporary and antithetical but not *ad hominem*. I juxtapose them for schematic purposes, hoping to summarise in them the essential cultural opposition which is the subject of this thesis. I will subsequently suggest that this dispute provides the proper context for understanding the poetry of Robert Fergusson, whose handling of it within and beyond St Andrews University, and whose attempt to reconcile the two cultures, will then be the subject of the chapter which follows this one.

Thomas Hollis was a donor to the Library of books, prints, and money during the 1760s and 1770s. The gifts were part of a great project of literary distribution by which Hollis hoped to promote internationally his political ideals. These ideals he summarised (in an inscription which records, on the fly-leaf, the gift to St Andrews of a copy of Henry Neville's *Plato Redivivus* in May, 1765) as "Liberty, the Principles of the Revolution, and the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover."[1] For Hollis, Neville's book was one of the classic statements of political freedom: other authors

[1] The Library's class-mark for this copy (published in London, 1763) is Hol JC153.N5P6.

in this personal political canon included Milton, Locke, Algernon Sidney, and Catherine Macaulay. To St Andrews, and to other institutional libraries elsewhere in Britain (including Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen), and in Europe and North America, Hollis sent copies of the works of these authors, in editions which commonly he himself had organised, financed, and largely designed. The donated copies were, likewise, finely bound under his guidance, with decorations which reflected their contents as he valued them – hence James Boswell's later summary of Hollis as "the strenuous Whig, who used to send over Europe presents of democratical books, with their boards stamped with daggers and caps of liberty".[2]

It seems possible only to conjecture how much particular awareness Hollis had of St Andrews University. Although his gifts were widely broadcast, they were not indiscriminately addressed. His most favoured beneficiary was Harvard College. Of the Scottish universities, he was most generous to Glasgow, whose library still has eighteen books given by him. Edinburgh, on the other hand, offended him in its politics: according to Hollis's memorialist, "a principal person there" (William Robertson, presumably) was "not Whig enough for Mr Hollis".[3] Edinburgh has only one recorded donation. St Andrews itself received, during the 1760s, at least nine bound volumes, several pamphlets, and a portfolio of prints. It also received a bequest of £100 in Hollis's will, so we know that it never alienated Hollis, as Edinburgh did.

If these gifts were the marks of a specific interest in St Andrews, then it seems most likely that Hollis's attention had been directed there through his acquaintance in London with Benjamin Franklin. Both these men were members of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce (they had

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[2] *Life of Johnson*, 1980, p.1140 (20th April, 1781). My information on Hollis comes mainly from the following sources: Thomas Hollis, *Diary* (April 14th, 1759 to July 3rd, 1770), Harvard (Houghton Library) MS Eng1191; *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, ed. Francis Blackburne, London, 1780; and W.H.Bond, *Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn*, Cambridge, 1990.

[3] *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, p.292.

become so in the same year, 1756). They had collaborated in a number of the Society's projects: in 1760, both had served, for instance, on the committee for assessing schemes of agricultural improvement.[4] Hollis's first gift to St Andrews, sent at about this same time, was in fact some of the Society's literature.[5] This included lists of the Society's members and committees, lists in which Franklin's name is followed by "LLD", recording the honorary doctorate which he had just received from St Andrews (in February, 1759). It was an addition which Franklin was evidently proud of, as is suggested by its appearance here even where his "F.R.S" is omitted.[6] Franklin had visited St Andrews to accept his degree, and it was immediately after his return to London that he had worked with Hollis on the agricultural committee. In future years, Franklin was to maintain his interest in Scotland, and especially in the Scottish universities, directing many young American students there, and others too.[7] He himself gave books to St Andrews on two or three occasions.[8] In short, it is very probable that he did bring the University's merits to the attention of Thomas Hollis.

The connection is worth making, because it was not only an accident of acquaintanceship which made Franklin a likely bridge between those two parties. He was a notable practitioner and promoter of the print-culture to which they both subscribed. As a printer himself in Philadelphia and founding partner of printing presses elsewhere, as a founder of the Philadelphia Library, as a publisher of newspapers, as a reforming deputy-postmaster general

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[4] See D.G.C.Allan and John L. Abbott, *The Virtuoso Tribe of Arts and Sciences: studies in the eighteenth-century work and membership of the London Society of Arts*, Athens, Georgia, 1992, pp.43, 47, and 50.

[5] Senatus minute for February 9th, 1761 (*Library Bulletin*, vol.II, p.263).

[6] See *Premiums offered by the Society instituted at London for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce*, London, 1760, p.44. For comment on Franklin's attachment to this honour, see *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree, London, 1959- , vol.VIII, 1965, p.278.

[7] On this last point, see, for instance, an apparently unfortunate introduction noted in Labaree, *Franklin Papers*, vol.XII, 1968, p.423.

[8] In 1759, 1773, and 1774: see *Library Bulletin*, vol.II, pp.260, 376, and 378. See also J.C.Irvine, 'Benjamin Franklin in St Andrews', *Alumnus Chronicle*, no.24, 1939, pp.4-11.

to the Colonies from 1753, Franklin had been laying the communications for his state and for the colonial union to which he then was looking forward. To serve learning in particular, he had written his *Proposals for Promoting Useful Knowledge among the British Plantations in America*, published as a broadside in 1743. At the other extreme, his *Poor Richard's Almanack* series had pioneered the paternalistic re-location of folk culture into tonic print forms. Moreover, he had, like Robert Watson, seen the need to recognise and institutionalise, in educational programmes, the general migration from speech to writing, and had urged the importance of the two print-disciplines of Rhetoric and History.[9] With reason, then, the St Andrews degree citation made Franklin "summus in Republica Literaria".[10]

Even if Franklin did not introduce Hollis to St Andrews, it is not beside our point that the University had, first of the British universities, honoured a man with that record.[11] However, I would argue not only that Franklin, such a keen communicator and promoter of others' communications, very probably did prompt the connection, but also that seeing the connection as made through that medium helps us to place Hollis in his relation to the University. He was not so much bringing to it a philosophy of print as approving one which he knew was already practised there.

It is less likely that the University, on its part, knew who Hollis was. His gifts arrived anonymously, the donor characteristically effacing the merely occasional or contingent dimension in these printed communications. Possibly, then, his name was not known there at all until after his death in 1774, when the University received notice of his will. In accepting his gifts, therefore, the University cannot be supposed to have conformed consciously either to his politics or (though we know that in fact it did) to his

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[9] See *Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania* [sic.], Philadelphia, 1749, and *The Idea of an English School*, Philadelphia, 1751.

[10] The citation and a contemporary translation are printed in Labaree, *Franklin Papers*, vol.VIII, pp.278-80.

[11] The honour was primarily for his scientific work, of course, but the citation ranges more largely over his character and career.

philosophy of the printed book, as I am about to sketch it. But his values were at least conspicuously present in the Library in the donated books, as it was his express purpose that they should be, their elaborate bindings being intended to attract "notice, with preservation, on many excellent books, or curious, which, it is probable, would else have passed unheeded or neglected".[12] And after Hollis's death, that presence was acknowledged in such a way as to convert it into something more like a statement. The printed portraits of his canonical authors, which Hollis had also donated to the University but which had hitherto been kept in a porte-feuille, were now framed and hung in the Library.[13] The books which were bought with the legacy, together with those donated during Hollis's life-time, were assembled in one book-case – hitherto Press G, but now called "Hollis's Press" and marked as such with an inscription.[14] For the first time, books in the Library had a locational meaning. Not indeed exact: Hollis's will had directed only that the £100 should be "laied out on books written by English, Scotish, or Ireish authors, relating to government or natural history or mathematics for the use and benefite of the public library".[15] The collection was, besides, adulterated with accessions from elsewhere. Nevertheless, when Hugh Cleghorn visited the Library on December 23rd, 1776, and borrowed Gordon and Trenchard's *Tracts* and their *Independent Whig*, and a run of the anti-Walpole periodical *The Craftsman*, he was taking out twenty volumes which he had found sitting side by side on shelf 7 of "Hollis's Press".[16] A concept had been introduced of the Library as not simply a repository of books, wholly mysterious topically, like

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[12] Quotation from a letter of Hollis to President Holyoake at Harvard, printed in *Memoirs*, p.603.

[13] These had been sent to St Andrews in 1762 (see the Senatus minute for 30th August of that year, in *Library Bulletin*, vol.II, p.265). The order to frame and hang them was made on 15th May, 1775 (*Library Bulletin*, vol.II, p.409). For a recorded sighting of them *in situ*, see above, p.21.

[14] See the Library's Press Catalogue 1779-96, St Andrews University Library MS LY105/10. The inscription was requisitioned on 24th April, 1779 (*Library Bulletin*, vol.II, p.419).

[15] Senatus minute for 14th July, 1774 (*Library Bulletin*, vol.II, p.379).

[16] The borrowing is recorded in L.R.B. (Professors), 1773-82, MS LY206/1, p.96.

the ideas in a head, but a body of knowledge visibly ordered, like the contents of a book. The shift to visible representations of this sort is indeed one of the essential innovations attributed by Walter Ong to writing, and more especially to printing.[17]

Thus was the presence of Thomas Hollis made effective in the Library, and what he represented was the pressure of metropolitan print-culture in its most convinced form. I will now sketch some of its characteristics, as Hollis evidences them. First, there is the stress upon a standard, even universal, language: specifically, English. One of the books which came from Hollis to St Andrews was *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae*, a manual in Latin of the English language by John Wallis, which Hollis had caused to be reprinted in 1764. The purpose of this book was to make accessible elsewhere in Europe the writings of Hollis's favoured English authors.[18] It illustrates neatly, in fact, the handing forward of the intellectual tradition from the second to the "third classical language" (though an English grammar may well have been received by the Scots in St Andrews with mixed feelings).[19] Evidently Hollis did not expect the "Scotish, or Ireish authors" to be using their native languages.

Hollis was not, however, rejecting that Roman ancestry of libertarian ideals which was so much a commonplace of political exchange in the eighteenth century. The presentation of his texts is distinctly Roman in style (he had made the Grand Tour in the 1740s, staying mostly in Italy, and was thence a life-long student and collector of antiquities). Many of the ornamental motifs used on the bindings and fly-leaves are of Roman origin: the figure of Liberty holding the *pileus* or liberty-cap, the cap itself (his most-used symbol), the olive branch, the dagger or *pugio*. The typographical character of Hollis's title-pages is likewise distinctively Roman: as W.H.Bond observes, their same-size

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[17] In *Ramus: method, and the decay of dialogue*, pp.307-14, and *Orality and Literacy*, pp.128-29.

[18] See Bond, *Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn*, p.93.

[19] The phrase is used by Thomas Sheridan in his *British Education*, p.356. I make further reference to it below.

capitals are closely grouped in blocks, like inscriptions in stone and very *unlike* the heterogeneous and drawn-out lettering more typical of the eighteenth-century title-page.[20] I will be showing in my next chapter that variety of type was recognised in the eighteenth century as a means of preserving something of the vocal repertoire within print. Here we see that Hollis wholly rejects that practice, even in its most tempting and amenable location on the title-page, in favour of a classical monumentality. Hollis's prints and frontispieces show similar typography and similar motifs, with in addition the Roman device of heads in medallions, encircled by laurel wreaths.

The English language was not therefore, for Hollis, a means of nationalising his political culture. The phrase "third classical language" is indeed the appropriate one, for Hollis's management of his gifts was essentially directed toward the universalising or classicising of texts. That seems to have been his project even for his own persona as a philanthropist, as he presented it in his inscriptions to the books: "an English gentleman" certainly, but also a "citizen of the world" and a "Lover of Liberty", and he remains otherwise anonymous in the inscriptions from which these phrases are selected, a multiplex representative of the citizenship which the books promote.[21] As for the books themselves, what Hollis saw in them (and created analogues of in his designs) was some sort of classical region of literature, access to which could be had by reading, but whose communications were rather within that region than into and out of it. His own marginalia (he did quite frequently make them, though the St Andrews books have only a few) hint at that inter-communicability, wholly in contrast to the student marginalia which I shall discuss below, and indeed in contrast to manuscript

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[20] Bond discusses the emblems on pp. 58-77 of *Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn* , and the typography on pp.88-89.

[21] These phrases appear together in the inscription to the *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* (London, 1765: class-mark Hol PE1102.W2) and in other combinations elsewhere in the St Andrews Hollis collection.

culture in general, as Walter Ong believes: "Writing served largely to recycle knowledge back into the oral world, as in medieval university dispositions, in the reading of literary and other texts to groups [...], and in reading aloud even when reading to oneself."[22] True, that is precisely what Hollis thought his books were doing: he had indeed a positively naive belief in the worldly efficacy of reading, its power to "recycle knowledge back into the oral world", but he did not in his propaganda treat that knowledge as something initiated or re-formed in that world: rather he objectified and stranded it in the impersonal region of print. The following example of his marginalia suggests this self-sufficiency of canonical discourse, the end-point of it as much literature as society (the marginalium appears alongside the concluding words in the Harvard copy of 'Observations on the Life of Cicero'): "Mark well, O yet Ingenuous Youth, this Passage, and forsake not Liberty; nor the Assertor of it, who died gloriously in its behalf, the most accomplished, excellent, read his works, Marcus Tullius Cicero!!!"[23]

The point is made in another form in a manuscript addition made by Hollis at the end of the St Andrews copy of Gregory Sharpe's *Origin and Structure of the Greek Tongue*.[24] Hollis here identifies the "Young Nobleman" mentioned in the full title as the son of Lord Shaftesbury, and adds "The Republic of Letters owes great obligation to the Shaftesbury family". That phrase "Republic of Letters", admittedly a common one in the period, very well evokes the concept of literature as a discrete, abstracted, classicised order which I have been identifying in Hollis's thinking. And he marked it out as such with all the dignities which secular culture could afford the book: classical genealogies in typography and binding, the finest testimonials of commerce (a Senatus minute observes the "turkey leather and gilt" of Toland's *Life of Milton*), the supra-personal eloquence of diplomacy ("An Englishman is desirous of having the honour to present this book to the

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[22] *Orality and Literacy*, p.119.
[23] Recorded in Bond, *Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn*, p.116.
[24] London, 1767: class-mark Hol PA253.S5.

University of St Andrews"), and the complementary portraits, which gave the heroes of the "republic of letters" a place on the Library walls among royalty and aristocracy.[25]

In the same period that saw the donations of Thomas Hollis and their respectful encasement, there was a sudden growth in a wholly antithetical book-culture: that of the marginalia added to library books by student readers. Their timing invites my comparison of the two phenomena, but was on the face of it a matter of chance. The outbreak of writing in books was most directly the consequence of an unpopular regime in the Library, the regime of Librarian William Vilant (nick-named "Punctum" by the students), which lasted from 1768 until 1788. For that reason, although I hope to ascribe a convincing meaning to it as a response to the established literary culture at St Andrews, I must allow that the lively, subversive spirit of it was prompted at least partly by an essentially extra-literary motive – the war with Vilant. Moreover, once under way, marginalia like these tend to become timelessly a function of the general pathology of writing on forbidden surfaces. As such, they tell us about psychology, especially male adolescent psychology, rather than phases of social history. Therefore, the St Andrews marginalia do have both a more local and a more universal reference than the one which I am interested in here.

However, as to the local reference, William Vilant was after all the custodian of the Library's books, and in fact his much-abused unwillingness to lend books ("Punctum Vilant if ye do not give me out a Book when I want you may assure yourself that I will murder you some dark Night")[26] tended to cast him as the proprietor of them. As such, he was the target not only of personal invective but also sometimes of comments which were really the expression of attitudes to the books themselves. We shall see a few examples

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[25] Senatus minute of 9th February, 1761 (*Library Bulletin*, vol.II, p.263); inscription in Toland's *Milton* (London, 1761: class-mark Hol PR3581.T7).

[26] Marginal comment appearing in Joseph Addison, *Works*, 4 vols, London, 1721: St Andrews University Library copy class-marked sPR3300.D21, vol.II, p.459.

below, but perhaps the most intriguing of them all is the simple statement "Punctum is Addison": however ironic in spirit, this identification suggests that Vilant was felt to stand in some elementary relation to the culture which he physically distributed.[27] But it is evident, anyway, that the break-down in Library discipline during Vilant's period of office prompted a scribbling craze which ranged well beyond Vilant himself for its subjects.

As to the universal psychology of writing on forbidden surfaces: those surfaces in our case were printed books, and not, for instance, lavatory walls. And just as graffiti in lavatories have as their datum the act of evacuation, so marginalia, however unscholarly, have as theirs the act of reading. Everything written in margins must be, however obliquely, a reflection upon that act of reading in particular or general, the more so because, unlike lavatorial graffiti, marginalia have a datum which is the same as their own medium of communication: to read them is in itself to modify the act of reading as envisaged by the makers of the printed book. Sometimes, indeed, the student marginalia in the St Andrews Library books do address directly the business of reading. A reader of James Harris's *Philosophical Arrangements*, for instance, candidly reflects, on the front end-paper of the Library's copy, upon the way reading-experiences bed down in the mind:

> This is a very good Book I never read a better in my life here [before?], not I, you may believe me for I tell the real truth It is curious what made me say so The book is good enough but I have seen a better [28]

In other cases, the marginalia seem to challenge the business of reading itself. "1,2,3, come follow me" may be a nonsense verse, or perhaps a tag in some playground game (we have noticed that St Andrews students were in many cases not so far off playground

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[27] In Andrews Baxter's *Matho, or Cosmotheria Puerilis*, 2 vols, London, 1740: vol.II, title-page, of the Library copy class-marked sQB50.B3D40A.

[28] *Philosophical Arrangements*, London, 1775: Library class-mark sB1374.H2.

age); in either case, it invites the reader away from his text.[29]

Here in the marginalia was an active part of the University's culture at that time, the students' part, and here alone a challenge to the authority of the press now survives. That it was distinctly the challenge of a colloquial culture is the fundamental thing that I wish to say about it.[30] Very few of the marginalia surviving from the eighteenth century are, in the way characteristic of modern student additions, directed to the private business of study, as aids to subdue more efficiently the mind of student to text or text to the purposes of the student.[31] Rather, nearly all of them initiate a dialogue of some sort, either with the text, or with other students, or with both. Accordingly these marginalia tend to be concentrated in certain books – where, the ice having once been broken, new voices readily join the conversation – but absent from other books which were no less borrowed.[32] And these conversations do not just accrete speakers; they evolve audiences. The first student may address the author, another will address that student, a third will call up a new audience to condemn the debate, and so on. Therefore the merely notional, undefined, or universal audience, which the printed book as such usually addresses, is partitioned by these marginalia to create identified and self-conscious groups or individuals within it, remodelling the book on the pattern of

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[29] It appears in *The Philosophical Works of Viscount Bolingbroke*, 5 vols, London, 1754: copy class-marked sB1355.A2D54, vol.I, p.338. Chants not unlike this one, used for a variety of the game "leapfrog", are given as number 304 in F. Doreen Gullen, *Traditional Number Rhymes and Games*, Publications of the Scottish Council for Research in Education, no.32, London, 1950, p.94.

[30] In this connection, I note that one sociologist has referred to graffiti as "a written source of material that is almost solely colloquial" (Allen Walker Read, quoted in Ernest Abel and Barbara E. Buckley, *The Handwriting on the Wall: toward a sociology and psychology of graffiti*, London, 1977, p.8).

[31] I have judged the date of particular marginalia firstly, and most reliably, from the scribe's own signature or date, if any, or from other names appearing in them; then from the character of handwriting and ink. Where dates are knowable, I give them; otherwise I only mention period if a marginalium may possibly fall outside the century.

[32] The most heavily inscribed text in the Library, as far as I have discovered, is the four-volume *Works* of Addison. This was a much-borrowed title, but its use as a forum for subversive exchange may have to do with that same symbolic status of its author in British culture which is hinted at in the gnomic "Punctum is Addison" (see above, p.218).

colloquial exchange. At the same time, the fixity which a printed text argues, as one copy of a mass-produced edition, is denied by these visible revisions, expressive as they are of the influence of locality and occasion on that text. I will here quote from Walter Ong in confirmation of my argument (perhaps already self-evident) that the marginalia were thus drawing printed books back into the habits of earlier scribal and oral cultures:

> Print encourages a sense of closure, a sense that what is found in a text has been finalized, has reached a state of completion [...It] situates utterance and thought on a surface disengaged from everything else, but it also goes farther in suggesting self-containment. Print encloses thought in thousands of copies of a work of exactly the same visual and physical consistency [...] The printed text is supposed to represent the words of an author in definitive or "final" form. For print is comfortable only with finality [...] By contrast, manuscripts, with their glosses or marginal comments [...], were in dialogue with the world outside their own borders. They remained closer to the give-and-take of oral expression. The readers of manuscripts are less closed off from the author, less absent, than are the readers of those writing for print.[33]

In various other ways these marginalia have the character of colloquial utterances. I will briefly discuss three of them: their punctuation (or lack of it), their formulaic character, and their agonistic relationships. They are, as my quoted examples show, frequently unpunctuated, as if nearer to the habit of voice than to that of text, and perhaps intended by the scribes as a heard voice rather than a read text. The connection between punctuation and merely visual reading, and conversely between unpunctuated texts and reading aloud, is made by Marshall McLuhan in *The Gutenberg Galaxy*: tracing the rise of private, silent reading, he argues that the work of some modernist writers – Gertrude Stein,

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[33] *Orality and Literacy*, p.132.

e.e. cummings, Pound, and Eliot -"with its lack of punctuation and other visual aids, is a carefully devised strategy to get the passive visual reader into participant, oral action".[34] Of course there is no such "strategy" on the part of student writers in books, but juxtaposed as their writings are with fully punctuated texts, their common disregard of "visual aids" is a reminder that they were bringing to such texts the habits of a different tradition of discourse.

Another of those habits was the ready recourse to verbal formulae, a preference for familiar collocations of words over novelty of expression, unaffected by any prizing of originality or distaste for repetition. Aspects of this habit – the "massive use of formulaic elements" – are discussed by Walter Ong in *Orality and Literacy*, and referred by him to their origins in the circumstances of oral cultures (with varying success, it must be said).[35] Perhaps only by reading the marginalia in this context will one be unsurprised by the repetitiveness and unoriginality shown by most of them.[36] Their invective, for instance, consists rather of the ritual re-use of familiar terms – *ass, bitch, blockhead, idiot* – than in anything personally aimed. And it is surely as an instance of this formulaic character that we must explain the otherwise anomalous dragging of the Librarian's name into allegations of unusual sexual prowess: here were two recognised tropes of marginal rhetoric at St Andrews – abuse of William Vilant and preoccupation with sexual excesses – brought together more by the hazard of arbitrary re-arrangement than by deliberate composition, just as in oral poetry "the formulas and themes are reshuffled rather than supplanted

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[34] *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, London, 1762, p.83. Alberto Manguel makes the same connection between punctuation and silent reading in *A History of Reading*, London, 1996, pp.49-50.

[35] See particularly his pp.38-42 (quoted phrase from p.26).

[36] This is a phenomenon which Iona and Peter Opie comment upon in the introductory chapter to *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren*, Oxford, 1959, (p.2): "Conscious as we were of the economy of human invention, and the tenacity of oral tradition (the two elements without which there would be no folklore), we were not prepared for quite the identity of ritual and phraseology which has been revealed throughout the land in children's everyday witticisms, and in the newer of their self-organized amusements."

with new materials".[37]

One common manifestation of the formulaic habit is indeed the use of verse to structure and standardise exchanges.[38] Such verse or doggerel makes many appearances in the St Andrews material. One marginalium which may have been written by Robert Fergusson himself is a couplet which sounds like common property:

> The man that wrote these cursed lines on me
> he now is damned and ever more shall be [39]

A stray line inscribed along a margin in Kames' *Sketches of the History of Man* – "At the hour of ten at night" – may have its explanation in one of the "miscellaneous puerile rhymes" which Robert Chambers included in his *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*:

> In the principal country-towns in Scotland, it used to be customary for the boys to parade the streets at night in bands, bawling, at the full extent of their voices, various rhymes of little meaning, such as:
> The moon shines bright,
> And the stars gie a light,
> We'll see to kiss a bonny lass
> At ten o'clock at night! [40]

Other instances of formulaic composition will appear later in my discussion. The examples chosen here are intended merely to relate the marginalia, in this respect, to folk habits of discourse.

The third characteristic of oral culture in these marginalia is their

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[37] Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, p.42.

[38] This again is something amply evidenced in *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren*, as well as in the comparable collections made by F. Doreen Gullen (*Traditional Number and Counting Games*) and by Robert Chambers (*Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1826).

[39] See Swift's *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, 5 vols, London, 1727: copy class-marked sPR3742.M2D27, vol.IV, opposite the title-page of 'Miscellanies in Verse' (following p.92). The couplet responds to some abuse of Fergusson on the title-page itself, and its hand-writing seems compatible with the inscription which Fergusson wrote when he gave a copy of his *Poems* (Edinburgh, 1773) to David Herd (copy class-marked Typ BE.D73.RF).

[40] *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 1870, pp.151-52. The marginalium is in the Library's copy of the *Sketches* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1774) class-marked sJC176.H7, vol.I, p.377. But the same hand has written, on the next page, "Come all you jolly seamen", so possibly another song, or some coastal variant of Chambers's, was in the writer's mind.

adversarial spirit. Walter Ong calls this cultural characteristic "agonistic dynamics"; his instances of it include flyting and other traditional adversarial oratory, and he relates it most basically to the necessarily personal character of spoken exchange, in contrast to the disengaged character of written texts.[41] Sometimes the St Andrews marginalia do indeed seem to be only momentary incursions, into writing, of spoken oppositions: "Devil damn you to hell", at the top of a page, suggests the book's use as a vehicle in a hitherto vocal exchange which was perhaps interrupted by the necessary silence of a class or of the Library itself.[42] Elsewhere, some comments upon the rhetorician John Ward show an interesting gradation from the scholarly towards this colloquial type of opposition, concluding as they do thus: "We might find many more faults with him but as we do not intend to criticize him it may be sufficient to say he is a damned Blockhead".[43] It is not only students, the Librarian, and the professors, then, but authors also, who are savagely treated in these marginalia. The pseudonym "Inimicus", used to subscribe some inter-student abuse in the same book, will perhaps summarise the theme.[44] Again, this characteristic of oral culture needs no further evidencing here, since it will be seen often enough in the following material.

In case these colloquial characteristics in the St Andrews marginalia should seem merely inherent in the genre, it may be instructive here to mention two quite unconforming varieties of marginalium found in the Library's books. The more common of the two consists simply in the re-writing in neat, italic hand (occasionally in imitation print) of phrases from the printed text. Whether we interpret this as the misplaced but diligent practising of the taught hand of the day, or as idle recreation, it did involve an effort to assimilate manuscript habits to printed book values,

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[41] Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, pp.43-46: quoted phrase, p.45.
[42] See Quintilian's *Institutes of Eloquence*, trans. William Guthrie, 2 vols, London, 1756: vol.II, p.423, of the St Andrews copy, class-marked sPA6650.E5G8.
[43] John Ward, *A System of Oratory*, 2 vols, London, 1758: in the Library's copy class-marked sPN4105.E5W3, vol.II, p.93.
[44] In vol.I, at p.15. The associated date is 1772.

and there is the significant point about it that it is a private response to the text, inviting (and in practice receiving, as far as I have seen) no rejoinder.

Then there is the less frequent but not rare practice of correcting the English of printed texts. Against Swift's phrase "in the Condition he was", for instance, a student writes "perspicuity requires that the author should have said *in which* he was".[45] Even this sort of scholarly interference may be intemperately expressed, and it sometimes produces its own controversies, but it otherwise differs from the kind of marginalium which I have been discussing hitherto in that its motive is deliberately towards the ideal of standardisation implied in printing, rather than counter to it.[46] It shows, of course, the application to student reading of lessons learned in the Rhetoric classes (as that key word "perspicuity" sufficiently shows),[47] and therefore of that ideology which I discuss in other chapters, based on the notion of a prescriptive correctness, with print as its governing reference and standard. Robert Watson's own *Philip II*, in the Library's copy, receives some attentions of this sort. To write in books, then, was not necessarily to challenge their type of discourse; it might signal acceptance and even promotion of that discourse. However, the essential habits of oral culture did in fact persist in student marginalia, as I hope to have shown, and accordingly there was implicit in them a challenge to the newer culture of print. I will now consider a few specific types of marginalium, and the sort of challenge which they

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[45] *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, 5 vols, London, 1727: Library's copy class-marked sPR3742.M2D27, vol.I, p.284. The hand here is very like the one which wrote the couplet in volume IV of this series, and is perhaps therefore Fergusson's.

[46] An interesting variety of this sort of marginalium appears in the copy of Toland's *Life of Milton* which Thomas Hollis gave to Edinburgh University (call-mark E.U.L.Dn.3.5). In Hollis's inscription – "An Englishman is desirous of having the honor to present this book to The University of Edinburgh" – the word "honor" has been amended to "honour", and underneath is written "A scotsman is desirous of correcting the word *honor*".

[47] The word appears in the lectures of both Watson and Barron, and evidently Barron also set it as a topic for composition: an extensive manuscript addition to the Library's *Female Spectator* recounts (no doubt mendaciously) the efforts of one Colin McVean (matriculated 1779) to deal with this set task by bribing the professor (see vol.IV, facing p.323, of the copy class-marked bAP4.F2S6).

represented.

Thomas Hollis, we have seen, used the resources of printer and binder to honour his chosen works, and felt this duty of honour in some degree towards all literature (one of his favourite texts was Milton's *Areopagitica*). By defacing books, the students were necessarily dishonouring them, whatever it was they wrote. But in fact it is evident that this dishonouring was often a conscious motive. In one identifiable genre of marginalium, it is the defining motive: here the scribe specifically deplores the practice of writing in books, perhaps himself using several lines of hand-writing to do so. He may even ironically acknowledge the official dignity of the book by claiming his own defacement of it for a special privilege: "Damn everyone that writes on any of the library books except W.B.S".[48] Or his terminology may at least imply that acknowledgement: "David Balmain the old pistol footed scoundrel I will have [?] the impudence to insert his name in this honourable book of Punctum's."[49] As this last example indicates, the immediate authority being challenged was that of the Librarian, or more generally of the Library and the University: but the word "honourable", with its Hollisian flavour, suggests that this authority was also representative of, and spokesman for, the larger authority of print-culture.

It is clear that recording a name was often sufficient of itself to satisfy the urge to deface. This seems indeed to be the most common type of marginalium, and names of course play a part in many other types. Now it is one of Walter Ong's re-iterated themes that the moving of discourse from speech through writing and into print meant "removing it from the rich but chaotic existential context of much oral utterance". Even between writing and printing, Ong finds a difference in this respect. Each of them

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[48] In *The Rambler*, 4 vols, London, 1767: copy class-marked sPR1365.R3D67, vol.III, p.118.

[49] In Joseph Addison, *Works*, vol.I, London, 1721 (Library class-mark sPR3300.D21), p.382. The wording is obscure, but Balmain's name appears elsewhere on the page. He matriculated in 1789.

"situates utterance and thought on a surface disengaged from everything else", but print "goes farther in suggesting self-containment". Ong instances the textbooks of Peter Ramus and his successors: "A Ramist textbook on a given subject had no acknowledged interchange with anything outside itself."[50] It was distinctly this objectifying habit of print which Thomas Hollis seems to have cultivated. I have mentioned that he did write in the copies of his books which he sent out – at least inscriptions in the front, and sometimes marginalia of other kinds – but he made a point of anonymity (his name appears nowhere in the books given to St Andrews) and, as I have said, his textual comment tended to keep communications within the domain of literature, not draw them into the "chaotic existential context" of current life. But that is exactly what students did do when they wrote their names in books, often reinforced by dates and even places of abode. Here again, no doubt, there is some element of the more primitive motivation shared with writing on trees, lavatory walls, desks, etc., and having to do with territory and self-announcement. But that cannot be separated from the motive of human speech as a whole, and is integrated, I would suggest, in the more sophisticated literary application of name-leaving which is my concern just here: the practice of dragging into local and "existentialist" contexts the otherwise aloof matter of the printed text. Therefore we may recognise as merely primitive and universal such marginalia as "John Roger wrote this".[51] But something more directly challenging to what Ong calls the "closure" of the printed text is implied in, for instance, the various local applications of Addison's sentimental drama *Rosamund*. For instance, next to the heroine's printed name one hand writes "not so beautiful as a Bell Tibby [?] in this town to wit St Andrews I love her more than Harry loved Rosamund A: Student 1785".[52] The student's own name is indeed missing here, no doubt in that common bashfulness of the lover

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[50] Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, pp.103-104, 132, and 134.
[51] *The Rambler*, copy as above, vol.IV, p.137. Roger matriculated in 1780.
[52] In Joseph Addison, *Works*, vol.I, p.118.

which another scribe expressly acknowledges later in the same volume.[53] However, place and date are identified, asserting themselves further in the word "this" and the present tense of the student's affection, surpassing and superseding Addison's Harry's.

This personalising of the printed texts is not simply self-assertion; the names and contexts are often other people's. A story told in *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, about a minister influenced in his spiritual prognosis for a dying parishioner by favourable news of his will, is re-attached to George Hill, perhaps when he was Principal of St Mary's.[54] A sentence about the Sandwich Islands in the letter-press of George Dixon's *Voyage round the World* reads "These islands were discovered by the late Captain Cook, during his last voyage to the Pacific Ocean": "the late Captain Cook" has been amended by hand to read "the present mad Captain Vilant".[55] Poor William Vilant's was indeed the most common name in such re-castings, and he supplies the theme of one much more ambitious attempt upon the abstraction of the printed page. In a poem of twenty-two lines (perhaps adapted from a printed or other model), a reader of the *Spectator* papers addresses Joseph Addison himself. He suggests that

gin ye knew
How short-legged P- uses you

the author would leave his classical retreat in "th'elisian fields" and visit St Andrews to punish the librarian for the unspecified offence (possibly that of allowing the much-defaced book to be written in, so that the poem may belong also to that ironic genre

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[53] In an exchange on p.205: "Alexr. [surname scored out] dreams all night and thinks all day about a lovely girll in this town", below which is written "He that wrote this wrote what was true but I don't want it published to the world I have put out my name".

[54] On p.37 of the Library's copy of the London, 1719 edition, class-marked sBX9180.C8D19. Trimming of the page has made some of the writing illegible, but the part that can be read says "This is a [...] George Hill [...] trick I dare say it was just [...] him." George Hill became a professor in 1772, and Principal of St Mary's College in 1791.

[55] The book was published in London, and dated 1789, presumably post-dated (a common practice), since Vilant himself died in 1788. The St Andrews University Library copy is class-marked sG440.D5.

which I have already identified).[56]

This last example, with its un-Addisonian "gin ye knew", is a reminder of the specifically national dimension, in Scotland, of the opposition between colloquial and print culture. I have mentioned that Thomas Hollis regarded the English language as the universal language of political freedom – effectively that "third classical language" which Thomas Sheridan was advertising in his works of elocution, and which, of course, was being accepted as such and promoted at St Andrews University. And, as I have also mentioned, Hollis often signed himself, in his inscriptions in books, merely as "an Englishman". As we would expect, the colloquial culture represented in the student marginalia resists this promotion of Englishness. It does not seem to do so self-consciously in vocabulary. Since it deals much in scurrility and invective, it necessarily uses a more demotic vocabulary than the print, and one might expect a rich Scottish content to this vocabulary. In fact, among the standard terms of abuse – *ass, fellow,* etc. – the only common Scots term is *bitch* (used for men). Other Scots words are indeed used: "Sandie M Flockherd [is a] muckle moued bitch", for instance, and "The French are clorty bodies".[57] But this last example illustrates the impression given in these writings that national feeling among the students was attached to ideas rather than to the language particularly. The remark about the French is prompted by a reference in Addison's poetry to "the Gaul". Nearby, in the same poem ('The Campaign'), his praise of the Duke of Marlborough, and of English heroism in general, produces further restiveness. Someone has written "I can write better", and more curiously "Lieutenant Hismacago [sic]": the possibility that the writer is proposing a Scottish hero seems confirmed by the appearance over the page of the words "Humphray Clinker".[58] More self-explanatory is a marginalium in

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[56] Addison, *Works*, vol.III, p.250.

[57] In a copy of John Clarke's *Essay on Study*, class-marked sLC30.C6, pp.196-97, and Addison, *Works*, vol.I, p.73. Flockhart matriculated in 1782.

[58] Addison, *Works*, vol.I, pp.69 and 71.

The Rambler: "The Ramblers name is Johnston, a most hellish surly, lying fellow who says there is not a tree but two in all the Shire of Fife which certainly is a damn'd lie. John Grant attests."[59] A similar correction is offered in a copy of Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, where that author mentions "a few rows of tolerable trees" as "the only trees that I saw from Berindale [?] to the extremity of Caithness": "you have not been looking about you then", someone has written.[60] Both these writers, Johnson and Pennant, were celebrated reporters on Scotland to English readers; both books were published in London, returning to Scotland to represent the Scots to themselves in an English mirror. The resistance being effected in these marginalia, therefore, was not only to a particular libel, but also to the centralised revision of Scottish culture which print both effected and enshrined. The centre in question was, of course, London, and we may therefore take as a motto for this type of resistance the assertion inscribed in one of the period's most-read student texts, Hooke's *Roman History*, "Edinburg is the Metropolis of my Country."[61]

I wish to make a final point about Scottishness, this time suggested by John Grant's epithet "hellish", quoted in the previous paragraph. The word "hellish" we may well take to be careless hyperbole, along with the "damn'd lie", but there were orthodox Scottish ministers in the 1770s who would have seen no hyperbole in the second phrase at least. And if the cast of Presbyterianism to which such ministers belonged was – as I have argued in Chapter II – allied, like the marginalia, to popular, oral traditions, while the new moderatism preferred politeness and print, it is not surprising that any religious affiliations apparent in the marginalia should be to that orthodox theology. Probably, most of their many passing

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[59] *The Rambler*, vol.I, p.192. This John Grant matriculated in the 1770s, probably in 1775.

[60] Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides. 1772*, 2 vols, London, 1776: copy class-marked sDA855.P3, vol.I, p.195. This marginalium may well be of nineteenth-century date.

[61] Nathaniel Hooke, *Roman History*, 4 vols, 1738-71: copy class-marked sDG208.H7D38, vol.II, 1745, p.381. There is no apparent context in the print for this statement.

references to hell, damnation, and the devil are no more than the popular currency of invective.[62] In that case, they tell us more about old-style Presbyterianism and the powerful appeal to popular habits of thought which its downright theology made than about student spirituality. But even where there is a more deliberate theology in the marginalia, the same preference does appear. A reader of the Library's much-maltreated volumes of Hooke's *Roman History* inscribes this comment: "The damd villans that tears these fine histories should be hunted with dogs till the day of Judgement & that in the afternoon."[63] Here is just that sort of literal-minded and savoured eschatology which was being ridiculed in *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* and shunned by the moderates. We are reminded, too, by the syntax of "tears" and its plural subject, of the specifically Scottish allegiance of both marginalium and theology. Even if, therefore, we can never feel certain of the seriousness of such Knoxian animus, it certainly represents the choice of a peculiarly Scottish demotic rhetoric in which to debate personalities and deface printed books, a rhetoric directly opposed to the Anglicised moderatism of the Scottish university establishments and to Hollis's vision of a universal English.

We return to a more general critique of authority in that pompous formula from the same *Rambler* marginalium, "John Grant attests". Devices to celebrate the descent from the dignity of the printed context to the familiarities of student life are not uncommon in these marginalia. A proclamation of "Geo: Rex", for instance, publishes the nature of John Whyttock's relations with "that damed clapped whore in the north gate".[64] At the back of the Library's copy of *An Essay on Original Genius*, a similarly

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[62] See for instance, in George Dixon's *A Voyage round the World*, under the running head 'A Voyage to the North-West Coast of America' the suggested variant "A Voyage to the Devil in H-ll" (p.220, copy as specified above). In common with many other marginalia, this addition is made in a fine italic hand, with swash capitals.

[63] See p.449 of vol.I (1738), class-mark as given above.

[64] Addison, *Works*, vol.I, p.254. John Whyttock matriculated in 1781.

scurrilous observation is signed "A. Divine" (a Scottish name, but since no such student formally matriculated it may have been assumed to embellish the occasion).[65] A common form of subscription to marginalia is the phrase "quod testor", as in "Why the Devil Bruce do you write your name here. see if I do that. quod testor Batchelor".[66] Conversely, the list of subscribers fronting Henry Ellis's *Voyage to Hudson's Bay* has been altered so that "His Grace the Duke of Montague" becomes "His arse the Duke", and two Right Honourables become "left" Honourables.[67] The occasional macaronic exercises in the Library's margins belong, I would suggest, to this same type of ironic interplay between popular and high cultures (perhaps the writing of the Librarian's name in Greek letters – evidently a rather fascinating practice to some new students of Greek – should also be classed here).

In this category of marginalium, defined by its mockery of authority, the meeting of two cultures is seen in its most willed and elementary form, and it may be reasonable to regard it as the pattern for all subversive writing in books such as I have been instancing. Thomas Hollis, as I have shown, promoted his canonical texts not only by multiplying them in new editions, but also by dressing them in designs which reflected their importance. His bindings, intended to attract "notice" and ensure "preservation", his title-pages, monumental in style, and his anonymous and dignified inscriptions, all asserted the permanence and universality of the print which they fronted. His aim was a unitary culture – unitary in time and in space. In contrast to that aim, the marginalia repeatedly assert the rivalry of an alternative culture: in the case of the more self-conscious assertions which I have lastly spoken of, they seem deliberately to celebrate the ironies

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[65] London, 1767 (the anonymous author of the *Essay* was William Duff). The class-mark of this copy is sPN1031.D8. The observation in question is "The Close with a wench is a better place than a bawdy house". The names of associated marginalia in this region of the book suggest a slightly later date than most of the ones I have been discussing: perhaps into the 1790s.

[66] In Ward's *System of Oratory*, vol.I, p.97. The Bruce in question matriculated in 1777.

[67] London, 1748: class-mark sG650.E5.

of this rivalry, embarrassing the dignities of print-settings with oppositional writings to which the print has to remain blind and unresponsive, or mockingly dressing those writings in the garb of their rival.

I will now summarise the nature of the rivalry which I have been positing in this chapter, after which I wish to show how it may help us to appreciate the work of one particular product of the St Andrews of that period, Robert Fergusson. Writing in the Library's books was, of course, forbidden, as the marginalia themselves record, and we can interpret much of what is said in those marginalia as a cathartic refutation of University educational policy in general: they are routinely ungenteel, they are provincial or parochial in reference, their religion (such as it is) consists of references to the Devil and Hell more suited to popular evangelical than to moderate academic Presbyterianism, and they deny the authority of the book. But in this last respect, they engage, I have argued, a much larger authority than the University, an authority for which Thomas Hollis was an eloquent, if self-effacing, ambassador at this time. We may, then, review thus the oppositional motives of these two participants in the life of the Library, Hollis and the student writers in books, representing respectively the rising print-culture, and the sinking oral culture in Scotland: Hollis privileged English culture, but the students re-asserted Scottish culture; Hollis classicised the book, but the students made it current and questionable; Hollis universalised the book in its own literary republic, but the students parochialised it; Hollis asserted what Ong calls "the private ownership of words"[68] by iconising their authors in his own words and in the prints which he commissioned, but the students turned the books into public places of dialogue; and, most generally, Hollis glorified the printed book, whereas the students mocked and defaced it.[69]

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[68] *Orality and Literacy*, p. 131, as part of a discussion of the particular influence of print.

[69] This may be the appropriate place to mention the one book given to the Library

In my next chapter, I wish to discuss the more public challenge to metropolitan print-culture which was, in the same period, being enacted in the published poetry of Robert Fergusson. But it belongs to the present chapter to show how the same student culture which I have been viewing appears in Fergusson's poems of university life, and to suggest the part it played in forming his poetic voice. The full titles of the university poems are 'Elegy, On the Death of Mr David Gregory, late Professor of Mathematics in the University of St Andrews', 'To the Principal and Professors of the University of St Andrews, on their superb treat to Dr Samuel Johnson', and 'Elegy on John Hogg, late Porter to the University of St Andrews'.[70]

These three poems evoke the specifically student experience of life in St Andrews University. That experience is most feelingly explicit in 'Elegy on John Hogg', with its picture of youthful conviviality in "Johnny's lodge", set in the poignantly narrow confines of "thir days", beyond which there approach, gloomily foreseen in the penultimate two stanzas, the stricter disciplines of "life's career". I mention this picturing of student experience as a reminder that there was indeed such a distinct way of life to justify the term "culture" which I have been using. Of course the students of St Andrews did not, as scholars under instruction, belong to an

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by Hollis which was subsequently written in by students, Ridolfino Venuti's *De Dea Libertate eiusque Cultu apud Romanos, et de Libertinorum Pileo Dissertatio* (1762: Library class-mark sAC900.P36). Not that the students would have known of this book's provenance (it was an early gift, apparently sent in sheets and then bound in with two other works unconnected with it), but their characteristic iconoclasm here meets Hollis at his most iconic. The book is largely a study of the Roman *pileus*, Hollis's most essential and most-employed symbol. It was commissioned from the author by Hollis himself (Bond, *Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn*, p.12). It was expensively produced ("big margins" says one laconic marginalium on p.24), with a generous array of Hollis's libertarian motifs (now surviving only as off-sets at front and back, the original fly-leaves having been removed in binding). The book finishes with two pages of engraved Roman coins celebrating liberty and its (student-defaced) heroes. The last words in the book appear at the end of the second of these pages, on a blind panel in the classical style, where a student signing himself Robert Russell (matriculated 1778) has said of Hollis's hall of fame, "These are a great parcel of blockheads up here".

[70] *Poems*, vol.II, pp.1, 182, and 191. There is a fourth poem drawn from Fergusson's university experience, 'An Eclogue, To the Memory of Dr William Wilkie, late Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of St Andrews', but being in pastoral form it does not directly address university matters.

oral culture, but as members of their own self-made brotherhood they did, and it was a brotherhood at least partly defined by the duality here implied.[71] The duality is dramatised in Fergusson's 'Elegy, On the Death of Mr David Gregory'. There, the students who, as scholars in the second stanza, now miss the professor's "eident care", are those also who, in the sixth, are remembered abandoning their proscribed ball-games when Gregory appeared.

Fergusson himself gives these playful oppositions between official and student communities a distinctly cultural character of the sort which I have been demonstrating in the juxtaposition of Thomas Hollis and the student marginalia. Each of these poems has a deliberately formal title, the formality noticeable in its mere length (it is, significantly, to his English poems that Fergusson usually gives the more elaborate titles) but also in the full-dress nomenclature ("Mr David Gregory", "Dr Samuel Johnson", "University of St Andrews"), the respectful obliquity ("late Porter"), and of course the absence of Scots terms. The three titles are quite distinctively polite among Fergusson's Scottish collection, and the effect of this politeness is to introduce these St Andrews personalities as respectable officers in a genteel institution. But that characterisation is swiftly revised in the poems themselves, where a very different mode of thought and expression supervenes. Professors become "Regents" (or even "lads"); the University becomes "our auld *Alma Mater*"; the Principal is "Pauly Tam", John Hogg "Johnny".[72] These are direct translations to the student point of view. Conforming to that point of view more generally, the "late Porter" is seen rudely handled by a personified Death under the devil's instruction, and the Professor of Mathematics sleeping (and perhaps snoring) as soundly as a playground top.

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[71] That oral cultures do indeed survive latest in communities of juveniles – "tradition's warmest friends" – is something established by the work of Iona and Peter Opie (for the quoted phrase, see *Lore and Language of Schoolchildren*, p.2).

[72] The change from "Professors" to "Regents" re-casts the specialists as teachers: i.e. presents them specifically in their relation to students. The term was properly obsolete by Fergusson's time, and no doubt he recognised in its obsolescence some of those larger changes in university ideology, connected with the 1747 reforms, which I have discussed in Chapter III.

Here is exactly the abrupt descent from official university to student culture which the marginalia, in their less artful manner, persistently effect. And it is presented not as a drama only – i.e. as differences of value and experience acted out – but textually, in differences of discourse which differentially authenticate those values and experiences.

In the two elegies, those differences are kept in ironic equilibrium. Respect for Gregory, for instance, is not seriously jeopardised by the translation of proper regret into student demotic. And after all, the culture which Fergusson makes a rival to the titular politeness – the knowing demotic of student life – was not one which the official University ever did or could inhabit. These poems challenge university high culture in fact just as the Library's marginalia do – mischievously delighting in the snakes and ladders of the macaronic exercise, and no more expecting to reform it than Gregory expected to cure the students of playing ball-games, or Hogg to make them like rising early. But in 'To the Principal and Professors', the official University's politeness has a wider reference, characterising Scottish culture as a whole for the visiting Johnson. The address which Fergusson makes to the professors is still in student demotic, as we have noticed, but their aspiring gentility is now seen to relate to that as a kind of betrayal. The demotic therefore becomes a language in which to make a claim on behalf of all traditional Scottish culture.

That it could readily be such a language, my survey of its affiliations to oral culture has, I believe, sufficiently established. It hardly was consciously used as such, however, by the students, whose use of it was, after all, local and momentary to their preparations for a "life's career" more properly represented in Hollisian forms. With them it was, I have been arguing, an almost ritualistic opposition, as indeed it partly is in Fergusson's poems. And it is thus, I believe, that we should understand a paradox of his Scots poetry more generally, one which I identify in the following chapter: namely, that it subverted, in print, the habits of

print culture. Such subversion was itself a habit of the oral culture which he had experienced at St Andrews, and which he carried into his own writings. In this sense it was indeed a voice with an inherited rather than a calculated point of view. However, Fergusson quickly came to make that point of view deliberate and explicit, as it is in 'To the Principal and Professors...', and indeed to use it also in his English poems. It is with one such English poem that I open my account of that point of view in the next chapter.

Chapter VII: Johnson, Fergusson, and print-culture

Fergusson's English poem '*To Dr* SAMUEL JOHNSON' is ostensibly addressed to Johnson as lexicographer rather than as writer.[1] The subtitle, '*Food for a new Edition of his* DICTIONARY', establishes a notional occasion for the address, and accordingly the pompous diction of the poem might seem to be a playful exploitation of the "whole revolving names" which Johnson's Dictionary had recorded. Such playfulness would make no very telling point against the Dictionary, one of whose noted accomplishments was to encompass nearly the whole language rather than just the "hard words" to which earlier dictionaries had confined their attention.[2] Moreover, the poem has an animus in it which strongly suggests a more than sportive satire. It subjects Johnson to the same kind of physical indignity which its Scottish counterpart, written by Fergusson for *The Weekly Magazine* a few weeks earlier, uses against him, freely experimenting on parts of his body with Scottish sensations, and likewise ordering him home as a man unequal to Scottish standards of virility.[3] By the end of the poem , its opening apostrophe – "GREAT PEDAGOGUE!" – has acquired sarcastic force: the same force, in fact, which Principal Murison's "Long may you lecture!" has in James Boswell's record of the St Andrews visit.[4] To what, then, is this animus directed?

Most obviously, the poem makes fun of Johnson as a stylist, and

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[1] In the present chapter, during part of which I will be discussing the typography of Fergusson's poems, these poems appear in the main text in their original typographic forms, as used in the McDiarmid edition. All references to the poems are from that edition unless otherwise stated, and I have not in this chapter given page numbers.

[2] See, for instance, Adam Smith's review of the work: "To explain hard words and terms of art seems to have been the chief purpose of all the former compositions which have borne the title of English dictionaries. Mr Johnson has extended his views much farther, and has made a very full collection of all the different meanings of each English word." (*The Edinburgh Review*, no.I, 1755, pp.61-73, quotation from p.61).

[3] i.e. 'To the Principal and Professors of the University of St Andrews, on their superb treat to Dr Samuel Johnson'.

[4] *Journal*, p.34 (19th August).

here Fergusson was in tune with contemporary Scottish critics. Adam Smith's lectures on Rhetoric, delivered before Johnson had made any figure as a prose-writer, had insisted on the merits of simplicity and the appearance of artlessness in writing. Smith, as we have noticed, had warned his audience against the spurious dignity of Latinate diction, and of "pompous sounding expressions" in general.[5] Some years later, Fergusson's own professor in Rhetoric at St Andrews, Robert Watson, was continuing to recommend a prose which gave the impression of having been "compos'd with Facility". For Watson, by this time, the antithesis of "the Natural" in style was to be found in the essays of *The Rambler*: he describes Johnson's style there as "straining".[6] *The Weekly Magazine* itself brought this charge against Johnson in several of its contributions.[7] To this context Fergusson's poem certainly belongs. With its long words, redundant classical morphology ("regalian", "perpendicularian", "colorized"), and anti-vernacular syntax ("EDINA shameless", "To welcome him convivial"), it is at the least a parody of the "straining" style.

There was evidently some pertinency in such a parody. Adam Smith had warned his countrymen against using this dignified manner (he associated it mainly with Shaftesbury) because he recognised an inclination in them to prize it as evidence of their freedom from provincialism of style.[8] If Smith was right, Johnson's style might have been a peculiar temptation to Scottish writers, even without his new authority as the lexicographer and London-sent "verbal potentate and prince" that Fergusson calls him. It was indeed sometimes suggested that no less a Scottish prose-writer than William Robertson had modelled his style on Johnson's: Boswell reports Johnson himself saying "if Robertson's style be faulty, he owes it to me; that is, having too many words, and those

[5] *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, pp.27 and 30.
[6] 'Treatise on Rhetorick', fol.66v.
[7] I.C.Walker, '*The Weekly Magazine*: a Study', pp.76-82.
[8] See above, pp.148-49.

too big ones".[9] Certainly the only Scottish periodical published continuously through this latter half of the eighteenth century, *The Scots Magazine*, used Johnson's *Rambler* more than any other of its English sources, as it proudly confessed.[10] To lampoon Johnson's "Lexiphanian style", then, and to dismiss him from Scotland, is Fergusson's strategy for disabling Johnson's authority in matters of composition.

Of course, there was no refusing the authority of Johnson's Dictionary. Implicitly the satire misses this, as I have suggested, and Fergusson indeed foresees students in Scotland continuing to consult Johnson's "dictionarian skill, / Which there definitive will still remain". Sending Johnson personally home, but keeping his summary of the English language, makes in fact a little allegory of what was happening in Scottish literature and criticism. The Rambler's own style might be rejected, but what Johnson called "the present prevalence of our language" was not.[11] But this acceptance in eighteenth-century Scotland of English both as the common British language and as the language of dictionary communication (i.e. written – particularly printed – communication) within Scotland, made the relationship there between this written language and the remainder Scottish, the spoken language, peculiarly uneasy. And it was exactly here, on the uncertain frontiers of written and spoken language, that Fergusson was siting his championship of Scottish culture. We shall see this when we look again at the Johnson poems and at some others. Before returning to this theme in Fergusson's poetry, however, it will be helpful to consider the language situation at large in Scotland at the time when Fergusson came to write.

The promotion of metropolitan English in the Scotland of the mid-eighteenth century did include both written and spoken language.

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[9] *Life of Johnson*, p.854 (Friday, September 19th, 1777).
[10] In the Preface to vol.XII, 1750.
[11] Preface (unpaginated) to *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols, London, 1755.

Both kinds were addressed, for instance, in the so-called "new method" of teaching English in schools, about which there was some controversy.[12] And while the Edinburgh lectures of Smith, Watson, and Hugh Blair were mainly devoted to written English, other projects, such as the reformed Select Society (renamed The Society for Promoting the Reading and Speaking of the English Language) or Thomas Sheridan's lectures of 1761, were encouraging a standardised speech. Some years later, indeed, Sheridan wrote of the "zeal and success" of Scotsmen in this project, instancing as models two prominent lawyers (his pupils), Lord Wedderburn in London and Lord Aylmoor in Edinburgh.[13]

Of course, the great majority of Scots speakers had – and expected to have – no part in what the Select Society's prospectus called "the intercourse between this part of Great Britain and the capital",[14] but it seems that even apart from this default the "success" of the oral project was in fact modest. Nearly forty years after Sheridan's assessment, Lockhart's Peter Morris was observing that "no young man can speak Scotch with the same impunity as an old one". His old men had been the young men to whom Sheridan had shown their respective elders as already models of achievement. Moreover, Lockhart was writing at that moment about a young Scot specifically noted for his use of "the Scottish dialect", Lord Cockburn. The "improved" voice, in short, seems to recede into the future with each generation. No doubt there was a real evolution in speech, but it was gradual and partial, and on any particular occasion liable to be foregone in obedience to what Peter Morris calls "the intense propriety of the native dialect".[15]

By contrast, the London model in written English was adopted

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[12] See for instance *The Weekly Magazine*, January 16th, 1772: vol.XV, pp.40-43. The subject is discussed in Alexander Law, *Education in Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1965, pp.148-56. For the controversy more generally, see Charles Jones, *A Language Suppressed: the pronunciation of the Scots language in the 18th century*, Edinburgh, 1995, pp.15-21.

[13] *A Rhetorical Grammar of the English Language*, Dublin, 1781, pp.146-48.

[14] Quoted in H. Grey Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1928 (1899), pp.119-20 (footnote no.2).

[15] *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, Edinburgh, 1977 (1819), pp.72 and 74.

with nearly absolute conviction and a success which remains evidenced by the published works of the Scottish Enlightenment. No doubt this was partly the effect of systematic teaching of the new Rhetoric in the universities, with its emphasis upon printed English models. When Robertson's *History of Scotland* was published, in 1759, Hume wrote to him from London saying "The town will have it that you was educated at Oxford, thinking it impossible for a mere untravelled Scotchman to produce such language". The letter is quoted in Dugald Stewart's *Account of the Life and Writings of William Robertson*. There, Robertson's early literary career is set in the national context of a "great stock of genius and learning" jeopardised by "the peculiarities of a provincial idiom". Hence the emphasis which Stewart puts on Robertson's style, quoting English testimonials as well as Scottish ones as to its "elegance and purity". And according to Stewart, Robertson ascribed his own success principally to the lectures of John Stevenson, Edinburgh's Professor of Logic, who, we have seen, was in practice also a rhetorician.[16] Yet William Robertson spoke with a Scotch accent.[17] His readers may have thought that he had been "educated at Oxford" or "lived all his life in London", but it was obvious to the people he spoke to that he had not. His case illustrates the peculiar power of the printing press to reconcile the "provincial situation to which Scotland is now reduced" with "the present standard of British taste", even to find leaders of that taste there.[18] In such circumstances, it was natural for Scotch intellectuals to feel acutely the separation of speech and writing.

At St Andrews, William Barron briefly analysed the situation in the eighth of his Rhetoric lectures. Referring to speech, or what he calls "living language", he observes that the "migration of language from the higher to the lower ranks, and from the capital to the distant provinces of a large kingdom, is extremely slow, so

[16] *Account of the Life and Writings of William Robertson*, pp.21 and 4. For Stevenson's teaching, see above, p.178.
[17] See Sher, *Church and University*, p.100.
[18] Phrases quoted from Stewart's *Account*, pp.21 and 28.

that many words and idioms are found current among the latter, which have long been disused among the former". By contrast, "the dispersion of books is almost instantaneous, not only over the utmost extent of the largest kingdom but even the face of the globe itself". A tyro who "proposes to write" may be fortunate enough to have access to "the conversation of those who speak a language most correctly", but the use to him of even that level of talk will be limited, for "it must not be forgotten, that the style and manner of the best spoken language are very different from those of good writing". Therefore, "good style is to be acquired chiefly by practice and reading". Barron evidences this strict division of language with the following rather curious statement: "many instances may be produced, of people who speak well a language which they cannot write; and of others, who write well a language which they cannot speak." He at once deserts the dubious symmetry of this model, and explains the situation of the latter people only: "They speak the language of the province where they reside. They write the language of the purest authors of their age." This being so, Barron concludes that there is "nothing in the nature of the thing, that should hinder the language of England from being written well in India or America".[19] Or, of course, Scotland, to whose young men Barron is holding out what he regards as the promising element in the case. It may be pertinent to mention here that Barron's own name, as recorded by the University Commissioners of 1826 from the oral evidence of his successor James Hunter, a professor who continued to teach, as he tells them, from "the most approved compositions in prose and verse", is written "Burn".[20]

Barron's model of a local speech and a universal – or at least imperial – literature was perhaps one which he accepted less complacently than he seems to postulate it here. I have mentioned that he tried to run a class on elocution at St Andrews. His formal lectures included ten which dealt directly with public speaking

[19] *Lectures on Belles Lettres and Logic*, vol.I, pp.130-31.
[20] See *Evidence*, vol.III, pp.122-25.

(numbers 28-37), Lecture 36 being on elocution in particular. In this lecture, the student is required not to wait on that "migration" of the metropolitan speech mentioned in Lecture 8, but to follow immediately "the practice of those who are generally supposed to speak the language with most propriety", a phraseology which recalls and seems therefore to identify the metropolitan speech privileged in his earlier lecture.[21] But his class was not successful, and anyway the modest ambitions which he associated with improvement in speech did not match those great ones which he thought should prompt young men to study writing.

Barron's notion of an imperial written English was perhaps influenced by the "third classical language" which Thomas Sheridan had envisaged in *British Education*. His ten lectures on elocution show similarly the influence of Sheridan's famous course of talks given in Edinburgh in 1761, and published in 1762 as *A Course of Lectures on Elocution* (Barron's phrase "living speech" is the one that Sheridan commonly and characteristically used). And on the face of it, Sheridan's analysis of language was peculiarly pertinent to the Scottish experience sketched here, because it stressed so insistently the distinction between the written and the spoken forms. He speaks of them as "two different kinds of language, which have no sort of affinity between them, but what custom has established".[22] However, Sheridan did not view them as the symmetrically independent practices which Barron postulates in his "many instances". For Sheridan, this was neither their proper nor their actual condition. In practice, the written language was cultivated and the spoken neglected (as indeed Barron, with his failed class in elocution, would no doubt have admitted). As to the proper relationship, Sheridan stated it when, in another of his publications, he stated his purpose as a teacher: "to make the spoken language, as it ought to be, the archetype; of which, the written language should be considered only as the

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[21] *Lectures*, vol.I, p.590.

[22] *A Course of Lectures on Elocution*, London, 1762, p.7 (using the facsimile edition, Menston, 1968).

type."[23] Speech, Sheridan says, is "the gift of God", writing "the invention of man", and writing should be restored to its "due state of subordination".[24]

Sheridan is concerned with one English speech. He is not satisfied that speech in Britain should be locally various, as in Barron's description: he proposes that the British people should "no longer have a variety of dialects, but as subjects of one King, like sons of one father, have one common tongue".[25] Barron did, in the lectures already mentioned, teach this same ideal, and we have noticed that there was some promotion of metropolitan spoken English in the schools and the clubs of Scotland, as well as individual projects of "improvement" like Lord Wedderburn's. But these were indeed aimed at improvement, as adaptations to the increasing "intercourse between this part of Great Britain, and the capital". Sheridan had in mind a much larger project of sociability, and it is here that his thinking illuminates the poetry of Robert Fergusson and those problems of print-culture which Fergusson's poetry addressed.

Sheridan's argument, presented mainly in the 1762 *Course of Lectures*, is that written language – and specifically print – is only a skeleton language. It not only lacks the vocal and bodily resources of speech – "tones, looks, and gestures" – but has never developed a notation which would provide a substitute for them to the reader. Rather, its orthography and punctuation have referred inward, to etymology and syntax, so that, for instance, "the use of pointing, as was before observed with regard to spelling, is much more calculated to assist the silent reader, in readily

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[23] *A Dissertation on the Causes of the Difficulties, which occur, in Learning the English Tongue*, London, 1761, p.3.

[24] *A Course of Lectures*, p.xiii; *A Dissertation*, p.3. I emphasise this aspect of Sheridan's thinking because it relates to my subject here, but it is worth emphasis anyway because unlike his particular theories of elocution it has kept its cultural pertinence, and yet it seems to be hardly noticed in modern accounts of his work (see, e.g., the survey by William Benzie in *Eighteenth-Century British and American Rhetorics and Rhetoricians: Critical Studies and Sources*, ed. Michael Moran, London, 1994, pp.197-206).

[25] *A Dissertation*, p.36.

comprehending the meaning of sentences, than in observing the due proportion of time, in reading aloud".[26]

In the course of his lectures, Sheridan elaborates this contrast between a fully sociable language and an introverting one. On one side is the "living voice", whose articulation of ideas (the material to which words as such are absolutely confined) is supported by a repertoire of signs declaring the affective charge of the ideas, and inviting human sympathy for it. This repertoire, a "language of the passions" is primal, inherent in nature, and therefore "understood by all the nations of the world". Its priority over words merely as such, the language strictly of ideas, is explained by Sheridan thus: "tho' it be not necessary to society, that all men should know much; it is necessary that they should feel much, and have mutual sympathy, in whatsoever affects their fellow creatures". The "living speech", words together with their affectively substantiating signs, receives its culminating presentation in Sheridan's portrait of the orator in action – "a Demosthenes addressing the most illustrious assembly in the world". Here not only is the orator himself at his most fully human ("Not a faculty that he possesses, is here unemployed [...] All his internal powers are at work; all his external testify their energies"), but it is to "the whole man" in his audience that he addresses himself, to "his reason, his imagination, and his passions". The social sympathy effected by this holistic communication is absolute: "Notwithstanding the diversity of minds in such a multitude, by the lightening of eloquence, they are melted into one mass; the whole assembly actuated in one and the same way, become as it were one man, have but one voice".[27]

On the other side, writing: "Compare", says Sheridan in the paragraph immediately following, "Archimedes in his closet; or Virgil in his study; with Demosthenes, rouzing the Greeks to the preservation of their liberties". On this subject of the study and the

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[26] *A Course of Lectures*, p.16.

[27] Quotations in this paragraph from *A Course of Lectures*, pp.16, 100, xiii, 101, xiv, 188-89.

closet, with their denizens "the silent reader", "the silent thinker", and "the bookish man", and their medium of communication, "the dead written language", Sheridan says less than he does about oratory. But it is this secondary language, he argues, which has been privileged by teachers, grammarians, and lexicographers, to the extent that "the language of nature, expressive of emotions, and declarative of the several feelings of the heart" has been "almost destroyed by this attention to book-language". Consequently, communications have been impoverished. Scholarship has tended toward solitary speculations and the miserly hoarding of ideas. In polite society, intellectual exchange has given way to sensual luxury. What survives of "communications by the living voice", being clumsily performed, tends rather to alienate than to engage its audiences, to be in fact "unsocial" or even "dissocial" in its effects.[28] In his culminating statement of this aetiology, Sheridan proposes that the fundamental, progenitive vice in any society, and therefore the source of "all the vitiated manners of the times", is selfishness, and that "nothing can contribute more to the propagation of selfishness in this country, than the ascendancy which the written language has obtained amongst us, over that which is spoken".[29]

Sheridan, then, had not only been teaching his Scottish audience to speak correctly. He had been pressing them to re-value speech, to restore its priority over writing. But the "provincial situation" was in practice, as we have seen, making such a re-valuation more untempting and unfashionable in Edinburgh even than it was in London. It was so there too, of course, and if Sheridan's argument was at odds with Scottish thinking, it was at odds likewise with the thinking of Samuel Johnson. There was, Boswell reports, an "irreconcilable difference" between the two men, partly accidental in its occasioning but essentially caused by Johnson's low opinion

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[28] See particularly pp.175-179 and 182-83.

[29] Quotations in this paragraph, except where identified in the text, are from *A Course of Lectures*, pp.189, 15, 175, 43, 174, 181.

of Sheridan's professional labours, the "narrow exertions" which Johnson considered ridiculous.[30] The low opinion was in its turn based upon Johnson's very different assessment of the relative cultural significances of speech and writing.

However, if we now turn back to Robert Fergusson's poem *'To Dr* SAMUEL JOHNSON', we can recognise there something of the cultural philosophy which Johnson, and the literati who had recently fêted him in Scotland, were rejecting.[31] First, Johnson's Englishness is less prominent in the poem than his role as emissary and emblem of a literary culture; not, then, a particular language, but a mode of language as a whole is at issue. Then, the literary culture made in that mode of language, so Fergusson suggests, is not essentially referential and social, a record and medium of exchanges; it has, rather, or aspires to have, its own absolute ontology to which Johnson, perhaps uniquely, may have access. That is the representation made of it in lines 3-6, where we find that Johnson has

> learned
> The whole revolving scientific names
> That in the alphabetic columns lie,
> Far from the knowledge of mortalic shapes.

Subsequently, therefore, the "Lexiphanian style" – an imitation, as I have said, of Johnson's prose manner – seems to become an expression or emanation of these "alphabetic columns", themselves the matrix of literary culture. Fergusson maintains the idea with his references to "parchment fair", "page" and "line", and the nocturnal study of the students.

This privacy or self-sufficiency imputed to Johnson's literary culture is evident at large throughout the poem in the semi-opacity

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[30] *Life of Johnson*, pp.320 and 1236 (Thursday, July 28th, 1763, and Saturday, May 17th, 1783).

[31] A copy of a work by Sheridan identified only as 'Lectures' does appear in the 1763 Author Catalogue in St Andrews University Library (MS LY107/4, p.63), but on a verso page used for post-1763 additions (the next author catalogue was made in 1779), so it may not have been there for Fergusson to read. Nor is it certainly the *Course of Lectures* which is being listed in this case.

of the language. The vocabulary, for instance: as I have mentioned, this is pompous in parody of the Rambler's style, but there is a larger issue than that implied in it. Many of the words – "silential", "pauperty", "CAVERNICK" – are only imitation words: not, at any rate, listed by Johnson himself. This is indeed an odd point about the poem. There were many outlandish words in Johnson's collection, words such as another *Weekly Magazine* poem had made parodic sport with earlier in that year, but Fergusson does not adduce them.[32] He is less concerned with what words Johnson has really found in the language than with the growth-habit of the language implied and approved in them and in Johnson's own vocabulary. It is this habit which, in his free improvising of words, Fergusson satirically imitates. The home-made morphology of his words imitates the Johnsonian strain toward classical forms ("perpendicularian", "undulize"). So does the syntax in "EDINA shameless!" "youth STUDENTIOUS", and the phraseology of "whose potent Lexiphanian style / Words can PROLONGATE".

Now, it was the idealisation of the classical languages, begun in the Renaissance, which Sheridan was blaming (together with the printing press) for the ascendancy of "book-language" over "the language of nature".[33] But it was not the admiration of those languages in themselves which he deprecated, only the conceiving of them as essentially written languages (the guise in which they had merely been inherited), and the consequent idealisation of the written word. Likewise it is not specifically imitation of Latin and Greek forms which Fergusson mimics in his poem. What he mimics is rather the attempt to raise language out of vulgar currency and into a region of literary invulnerability properly possessed only by the learned languages but apparently reached-after in Johnson's writing and institutionalised in the Dictionary. In fact, although Johnson did regard English as a vernacular and

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[32] The earlier poem is called 'On Johnson's Dictionary'. Its object of satire is in fact Johnson's "pedantic jargon", rather than the Dictionary as such. See *Weekly Magazine*, January 14th, 1773: vol.XIX, pp.81-82.

[33] *A Course of Lectures*, pp.148 and 174.

accordingly inferior, impermanent language, with "a natural tendency to degeneration", he did not suppose that his Dictionary could do more than momentarily check that tendency.[34] However, the notion that the Dictionary might make "our compositions [...] classical and immortal" was at any rate mockingly ascribed to the Dictionary's enthusiasts by another Scotch critic of Dr Johnson, John Callendar, in his *Deformities of Dr Johnson*.[35] And it is not particular hard words nor even Latin and Greek formations that Fergusson satirises, but the classicising urge of the modern literary mind, as apotheosised in Johnson himself.

In his poem, Fergusson shows this classicising cast of mind de-naturing English. The de-natured English in turn de-natures the Scottish scene, which appears only half-recognisable in "Loch-lomondian liquids", "perpendicularian hills", and "frigor of Highlandian sky". Here is Scotland as addressed to "the silent thinker or the bookish man", a man not so much on a real journey as "in per'patetic mood".[36] By welcoming the "verbal potentate and prince" to Scotland in this language, the poet sarcastically acts out the putting of his country's culture to this cerebrised re-valuation. The idea is neatly summarised in the emblem of the poem's second paragraph: the Scottish sheep being made into parchment.

For the purpose of my argument here, it is important to note again that Johnson is not, in this poem, bringing merely English language or English culture to Scotland's prejudice. He is bringing dictionary English, in the sense of English as the ideal language of print, the sort of English sometimes distinguished as "high English".[37] It was indeed only as a print-language that English could challenge Scots, because it was in print that it had the presence in Scotland, as well as the authority and imitability, which enabled it to re-cast that language as a variant from itself: that is, as

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[34] Preface to the *Dictionary*.
[35] *Deformities of Dr Samuel Johnson, selected from his works by John Callander*, London, 1782 (Edinburgh, 1782).
[36] *A Course of Lectures*, p.175; 'To Dr Samuel Johnson', l.45.
[37] See above, p.206.

a dialect. As Johnson himself said, in the Preface to his Dictionary, such dialects would "grow fewer, and less different, as books are multiplied". That Johnson himself may be seen as the model of the author in the new age of print has been demonstrated by Alvin Kernan in *Printing Technology, Letters, and Samuel Johnson.* And he was already recognised as such in his own time. It is thus that Callender regards him. He characterises both the *Dictionary* and the *Shakespeare* as figments of print technology and print economics, the former work "printed and patronized by a phalanx of booksellers" and successful only because of their "vigorous but interested exertions", the latter "forced upon the world by every artifice of trade".[38] And it is thus, likewise, that Fergusson views him.

Of course, it is difficult and somewhat artificial to separate the two categories – print-language and English – in Fergusson's poetry, since the first is almost always co-terminous with the second. Fergusson himself used high English in his English poetry, not colloquial English. But it should be noticed in the poem under discussion that Johnsonian English is not threatening Scots, except implicitly by giving its own names to things for which we expect Scots names; it is rather throwing the whole of Scotch culture – here (and typically) represented by Fergusson in foods and landscapes – under a certain kind of attention inimical to it. The attention is couched in English but, as I have said, the hard words are not dictionary words, and not so much English words at all as words which aspire to a classical status. The "straining", anti-natural style of the Rambler which Watson had commented on is here associated with Johnson's work as a promoter of standardized print-borne culture in order to characterise that culture as a threat to Scottish life.

Moreover, the remonstration is not implied only in the dulled and unfamiliarised forms of Scottish life appearing in the poem through Johnson's obscuring diction. For behind it in another

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[38] Callander, *Deformities of Dr Samuel Johnson*, Preface, pp.v and vi.

dimension is that Sheridanian antithesis to print standards, an act of oratory. Fergusson's address to Johnson is generically (however qualified by irony) a eulogy, praise spoken by one man on behalf of a community, one of the basic disciplines of the old oral Rhetoric.[39] This communal form implicitly criticises the solitary Johnsonian progress, although its antithetical force is more readily understood in the poem's Scottish counterpart, '*To the* PRINCIPAL *and* PROFESSORS *of the University of St* ANDREWS', where the socialising motive of direct speech is less obliquely expressed.

It is true that Fergusson's own contribution to literature, including the Scottish part of it most prized then and since, was necessarily in print. It might be argued, then, that he could not have been challenging print-culture as I suggest, but was rather resisting the domination of English at large with a re-animated Scots at large. But there is less paradox in his situation than at first appears. Print values may reasonably (if desperately) be challenged in print. This was what Sheridan himself was doing when he published his *Course of Lectures* and other like-minded works. And Sheridan did not, after all, argue that printing should end. His complaint was only that it had acquired a baleful privilege. The same complaint is implicit, I believe, in Fergusson's life and work. He observed, satirised, and wished to challenge the printed book as a privileged and glamourised form of discourse.

I shall introduce Fergusson's wider treatment of the printed book by way of a poem which is characteristically attentive to the social and epistemological status of different modes of discourse, namely 'CODICILE *to* ROB. FERGUSSON'S LAST WILL'. In this piece, Fergusson recommends his printer, Walter Ruddiman, to make an engraved

[39] We may remember from Chapter V that Charles Rollin had to inaugurate his professorship with such an exercise. Hugh Blair identifies the discipline (as part of "demonstrative" oratory) in his 27th lecture, using the past tense: "The antients divided all Orations into three kinds; the Demonstrative, the Deliberative, and the Judicial [...] The scope of the Demonstrative was to praise or to blame. This division runs through all the antient Treatises on Rhetoric; and is followed by the moderns who copy them" (*Lectures*, vol.II, p.228). John Ward does indeed follow it (see e.g. *System of Oratory*, vol.I, p.107).

frontispiece for the *Poems*, in order to exploit the selling virtues of "glaring copperplates":

> For, if a picture, 'tis enough;
> A NEWTON, or a *Jamie Duff*.

The reference to Newton, and an earlier comparison of such engravings to "superfluities in clothes", show that it is what might be called the "Braid Claith" effect in print that Fergusson is thinking of.[40] Here, print technology, in making a glamorous commodity of literature, ceases to act as a medium for truth, and seeks rather its own analogues and substitutes for it, "shadows" not "substance". And "glaring copperplates" were not for popular consumption, any more than broad-cloth was: the "shadows" were appeals to self-conscious gentility, socially divisive in the way Fergusson's Scots poems so often deplore.

Fergusson could, however, imagine print without this abstraction and self-sufficiency. In the same poem, there is a strain of imagery which keeps print within the social tradition. For instance, the contents of Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine* are pictured as

> themes that weekly come
> To make parade at *Walter*'s DRUM.

And if there is a slightly ironic fashionability about "*Walter's* DRUM" (appropriate to the context of poetic self-deprecation: Fergusson is among "brighter themes" than his own), there is nothing snobbish about "his ordinary" later in the poem, the phrase which Fergusson uses to represent Ruddiman's publishing list as a whole.[41] An "ordinary" was commonly a meal taken at a public table for a fixed price. On the face of it, the image is not suited to the selling and consumption of books. Boswell's description of the antithesis of it at Clifton's eating-house would seem more pertinent: "there is no ordinary, or united company, but each person has his own mess, and is under no obligation to

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[40] Newton is mentioned in the poem of that title, as, of course, are showy clothes.

[41] "Since others at the samen prices/ Propose to give a dish that nice is,/ Folks will desert his ordinary,/ Unless, like theirs, his dishes vary." (ll.49-52).

hold any intercourse with any one."[42] Here is something like Sheridan's silent reader in the study or closet. By contrast, Fergusson's image draws book-culture into that sort of communality which his Scots poems prize and promote.

I wish to suggest firstly, then, that Fergusson shared Sheridan's distrust of print as a narrowing "dis-social" influence. His own "high English" verse, in fact, reflects that influence, preoccupied as it is with solitude and privation, just as his colloquial Scots verse resists it; indeed, Sheridan's contrast of the states of mind which correspond to printed and oral communication corresponds remarkably closely with the relation between Fergusson's English and Scots moods.[43] Secondly, I will suggest that although Fergusson had no wish for that centralising and standardising of English which was integral to Sheridan's project, he did share Sheridan's ideal of a written language subordinate to the spoken. These two suggestions I shall now discuss in more detail.

As to the first point, Fergusson's distrust of print: I have spoken already of the "Braid Claith" effect – print as a substitution of experience. It is a critique of this act of substitution that opens the poem called '*The* KING'S BIRTH-DAY *in* Edinburgh'. That anniversary had, naturally enough, been the occasion for "A' kind o' print", but according to Fergusson "the Muse", in lending her voice to this output, has been "fairly flung" (i.e. "baffled, deceived", according to Jamieson in his *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, London, 1808), because, as he laconically explains, "There's naething in't". By "naething", Fergusson seems to mean no real experience, nothing to do with the event itself.[44]

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[42] *Life of Johnson*, p.284 (June 25th, 1763).

[43] See *A Course of Lectures*, pp.175-76.

[44] Such poetry was, of course, especially the province of poet laureates, and examples illustrating Fergusson's complaint may be found in the work of the contemporary laureate, William Whitehead (see *Plays and Poems*, 2 vols, London, 1774). Poems of this sort were regularly printed in *The Weekly Magazine*, and I refer in more detail below to one such by Whitehead. The prefatory Dedication (to "The Public") in Henry Brooke's *Fool of Quality* (1777) shows that Fergusson was not alone in observing a particularly strong alliance between the book trade and the laureateship in the business of keeping truthful discourse out of print.

And since Fergusson himself intends to offer a new variety of anniversary poem, "A' kind" evidently refers to merely typographic or bibliographic variety, a meaning also suggested in the image of the Muse doing the printing ("the Muse has dung / A' kind o' print"). This is the self-sufficiency of which I have been speaking: print as itself a cast of thinking, with its own Muse making and perpetuating its own tradition.

Reasoning that the event must in fact be the same in London as it is in Edinburgh, Fergusson uses the Edinburgh experience to subvert the printed tradition.[45] The whole poem is in fact cast as an address to the print-Muse, whose loyalty to "Parnassus" produces a humourous resistance, at the start and end of the poem, to the poet's interest in things as they really are. There is nothing especially English about this Muse; her preferred themes at the end of the poem are indeed expressed in Scots. The clash is between the classicising instinct of the Muse, and the poet's desire for immediate access to the event. The Muse's preference is no doubt exemplified in such anniversary poems as had hitherto appeared in *The Weekly Magazine* itself: two recent ones were by J. Tait, who begins "Loud raise your voices, British swains!", and the poet laureate Whitehead, whose "frolic band of pleasure's train" was perhaps particularly stored in Fergusson's mind for vernacular rendering.[46] Fergusson's own representation of the anniversary is colloquial both in its manner (direct apostrophes to Mons Meg, the soldiers, and the Muse herself), and in its time-scale, advising "Auld wives" to keep their cats in, as if the day in question is still passing. It is colloquial also, of course, in its express separation from "A' kind o' print". The essential antithesis involved here is in fact suggested in the poem's epigraph, a line from Drummond's macaronic poem *Polemo-Middinia*: "Oh! qualis hurly-burly fuit, si

[45] His earlier poem 'The Daft Days' bears this same relation to familiar odes to the new year, of which likewise examples appeared in *The Weekly Magazine*.

[46] Both poems appeared in 1771, Tait's on June 6th, Whitehead's on June 13th: *Weekly Magazine*, vol.XII, pp.307 and 339. The last verse of Fergusson's poem might be read as an elaboration of Whitehead's image of rustic merry-making.

forte vidisses." It is the antithesis between literary language and colloquial language, and the types of experience implicit in them.

The macaronic epigraph here is indeed symptomatic of Fergusson's outlook. Humourous macaronic verse like *Polemo-Middinia* (there was a different tradition of serious macaronics, which Dunbar, for instance, made use of) playfully subverts the claims of hegemonic languages to comprehend or control experience. Fergusson himself evidently enjoyed macaronic jokes: he had at least three languages (Latin, English, and Scots, but also presumably some Greek), and his education had no doubt made him sensitive to their relative prestiges. His poems 'ROB. FERGUSSON'S LAST WILL' and 'CODICILE' both use macaronic effects in English and Latin. '*The* ELECTION', like '*The* KING'S BIRTH-DAY', uses a macaronic epigraph. But both these last poems are macaronic also in a larger sense, involving the subversion of a higher civic tone by a lower demotic one. This larger macaronics does in fact characterise much of Fergusson's verse. The possibly rather tiresome mock-heroic manner in several of his English pieces – '*The* BUGS', '*The* SOW *of* FEELING', 'GOOD EATING', etc. – is a product of the macaronic vision: enjoying the embarrassment of a genteel rhetoric obliged to handle low subjects which tend to elude its authority.

Perhaps we can observe this same taste outside Fergusson's poetry, in some of the little we hear about his personal life. Two incidents relate to his powers as a singer. In one he introduces, in his capacity as precentor, the drunkenness of a friend into the intercessionary prayers.[47] The performance was apparently a device to relieve Fergusson of precentorial duties in the future, but it must also be recognised as a lark in his characteristic vein: using raw experience to test the capacities of a rarified, institutionalised rhetoric.

In another incident, Fergusson dresses as a street-singer selling

[47] This incident is apparently first recorded by Alexander Campbell in *An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1798, p.291.

sheet music.[48] It seems to be regarded by his friend Sommers, who first relates the story, as a significant test of Fergusson's success in the impersonation that the material offered for sale ("a certain number of ballads (no matter what kind)") – and the songs sung ("a variety of Scots songs, by no means such as he had ballads for") were not the same. The implication is perhaps that the printed ballads were not Scottish ones. But at any rate, the character of the joke, which was prompted by Fergusson's "vocal powers, and attachment to Scots songs", seems to have consisted at least partly in the subversion of the printed form's claim to stand for reality. And the subversion in this case takes the macaronic joke to its extreme of linguistic schism: the authoritative and the actual wholly parting company. It represents, at the same time, the Sheridanian antithesis in crisp outline: on one side the "vocal powers" by which the single performer collects "great multitudes around him", and on the other the printed sheets sold for private use, wholly inadequate to the social event of which they are the supposed equivalents.[49]

In all these formal and informal macaronic devices, Fergusson used the "living voice", or its nearest print-analogues, to discomfort and demote the print which, in its "high English" paradigm, he distrusted as a falsifying medium. I wish now – taking up my second suggestion about Fergusson's ideology, his Sheridanian wish to redress the balance between written and spoken langauges – to look more closely at some of these print-analogues. For there was a way into print for an essentially oral culture, provided that this culture could master the medium rather than submit to what Alvin Kernan, in *Printing Technology,*

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[48] The source for this story is Thomas Sommers, *The Life of Robert Fergusson, the Scottish Poet*, Edinburgh, 1803, pp.27-28 (all my quotations are from these two pages).

[49] Fergusson's joke was perhaps in particular an act of resistance against print as it was already affecting the sort of ballads he chose to sing. David Buchan shows in *The Ballad and the Folk* (London, 1972) that the printing of the ballads did not simply record them; it changed their nature. Later in the present chapter, I quote James Hogg's report of the view his mother took of Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, that the printing had destroyed the singing.

Letters, and Samuel Johnson, calls the "logic" of print.[50]

Kernan is interested in print-culture as supplanting an oral culture which was essentially aristocratic and court-centred, the press replacing the patron as sponsor of authorship, but that was not the situation which Fergusson confronted. There was no court in Scotland. Its distinctive contemporary culture – at least as Fergusson championed it – was not aristocratic or even bourgeois, but popular. In this respect at least, printing, in its nature a mass-production technology, was much less threatening to it than to the culture which Kernan talks about. Even *The Spectator*, which particularly in Scotland was of course a gentrifying force in the eighteenth century, was also self-consciously a popularising project, and Addison properly calculated its influence in mere numbers, and appreciated their significance.[51] The periodical with which Fergusson was associated, *The Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement*, was much more obviously popular. No doubt it did have some diluent effect on Scottish culture, since much of its material, particularly in its earlier numbers, came from English publications – something which was true of all the Scottish periodicals of that century. But its format was democratic, its miscellany of extracts and contributions making a genuine plurality of voices, quite unlike the homogenising medium created by Addison out of the mind of Mr Spectator. Indeed, these two periodicals, so unlike, show how liberal the "logic" of printing technology really was.

To compare *The Spectator* and *The Weekly Magazine* would not have seemed as wilful in Fergusson's time as it might seem now. *The Spectator* was still then a point of reference for any writing, and particularly so for periodical writing. More nebulously, it was a standard for sociability. Something of all this is implicit in the comparison as it in fact was made by a correspondent in *The Weekly Magazine* during 1772, when he describes the reception of

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[50] p.49. Kernan is here expressly using the terminology of Marshall McLuhan.
[51] See *The Spectator*, no.10, March 12th, 1711 (ed. Aitken, vol.I, p.52).

that paper in his own household. The situation there, he says (or rather, he says that his daughter frequently says), is "just like long ago when the Spectator was published; for he [i.e. Mr Spectator] tells how his papers were a part of the tea-equipage: and so is the Magazine of ours."[52] But this "Mr Rattle" also points up the difference which I have just mentioned, for the plurality of address in the *Weekly Magazine* is matched by the plurality of appreciations which his family brings to it, each member having his or her own preferred feature there. Moreover, there is an awareness of the medium itself – a naive rather than a knowing awareness – which protects the separateness of the colloquial standard, and acknowledges its precedence and persistence, checking that tendency of print which Sheridan deplored to cast itself as the primary and colonising form. Mr Rattle is expressly interested in the notion of appearing in print, and rather self-conscious about it, as are other of the paper's correspondents. "Meagre", for instance, in the same issue, adds this post-script to his letter: "Sir, publish this in your Magazine, for I want very much to see myself in print."[53]

This image of print as a mirror maintains the notion of the voice as the primary and in every instance precedent form. Print in such a context is a vocal adventure, not the mind's natural habitation which Addison had made of it. With his smooth digesting movement among literary extracts, fictitious correspondents, and the private musings of the periodical hero, Addison had, for all his missionary sociability, cultivated the press as a private mind-realm or new member of the mind. So, too, contemporary printers proudly conceived of it, if their 'Printer's Song' properly expresses them:

> We catch the thought, all glowing warm,
> As it leaves the student's brain.[54]

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[52] *The Weekly Magazine*, January 16th, 1772: vol.XV, pp.69-70. The reference here is to the same tenth issue of *The Spectator* to which I have just alluded.
[53] *The Weekly Magazine*, January 16th, 1772: vol.XV, p.77.
[54] This text, entitled 'The Printer's Song', I only know from a printed paper pasted

We are dealing here with the difference between discourse as a forum and discourse as the image of a consciousness. It is a difference which we see also between Fergusson's Scottish and English poems, and which can be traced variously in every choice between oral and print media.

In another respect, too, *The Weekly Magazine* challenged the aloofness of print: in its topicality. It was a newspaper as well as a miscellany, and it naturally drew upon extra-literary current affairs for its matter. But even its literary features were often topical in some extra-literary sense, as for instance in the extended debate about pronunciation of Scots, or more obviously in the poetry, which often responded to an anniversary, national event, or incident reported in a previous issue of the *Magazine*. Fergusson's Scottish poems nearly always did so, which may explain why they are marked with place and date of composition more consistently than their fellows.

There was nothing new about topicality in print, of course. As we understand the term now, it was in some sense a creation of the printing press. One of the *Magazine*'s own contributors apostrophises the press accordingly in a poem called 'The Printer':

> This fills each mouth with politics or news,
> Hence daily, weekly works, so num'rous seen!
> And hence the treasures in the *Magazine*![55]

But there is in *The Weekly Magazine* an unusually strong sense of the alternating current between print and life beyond the press. The *Magazine* is appropriately described on its title-pages as "a Register of the Writings and Transactions of the Times", but the important point here is that so many of the transactions which most engaged the attention of the contributors were Scottish affairs: the circulating of this magazine did not therefore have that centrifugal effect on consciousness which, for instance, the English newspapers have among Mr Balwhidder's congregation in Galt's *Annals of the*

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inside the front cover of the Bodleian Library's copy of Smith's *Printer's Grammar*, 1755, call-marked 258.e.280.

[55] *Weekly Magazine*, January 21st, 1773: vol.XIX, p113.

Parish.[56] Both the locality and the time-scale of the *Magazine*'s topicality were often very near at hand. Fergusson himself, I have mentioned, would sometimes situate his poetry right within the currency of the reported event.[57] Thus positioned, it would seem to engage directly with colloquial life. It might indeed more than *seem* to do so. His Scottish poem about Johnson, '*To the* PRINCIPAL *and* PROFESSORS *of the University of St* ANDREWS, *on their superb treat to Dr* JOHNSON' is of course a direct response to a recent event, Johnson's arrival in Scotland having been noted in the *Magazine* of the previous week. It also takes up, at the end, a very local objection made privately against his former poem '*An* EXPEDITION *to* FIFE *and the Island of* MAY'. In response to that objection Fergusson suddenly breaks the thread of his tirade and addresses this opponent in his audience, on the pattern of a speaker seeking out a heckler: "What's this I hear some cynic say?" He then suggests composing their differences over a drink. An earlier issue of the *Magazine* had carried a more formal challenge, from "Senex" to Ensign Touchole, purposing to settle differences recently arisen in the pages of the magazine. The challenge appears under the heading 'A Card', on January 23rd, 1772. In this case, time and date are to be left at Ruddiman's office, and print-life can be seen almost literally spilling into the street (it seems possible that 'A Card' was a figment of the editorial side, part of a policy to create just that sense of involvement that I am talking about). In such instances, we can say about *The Weekly Magazine* what Penny Fielding says about Burns' poetry, that it "drew on oral sources and fed back into them, using print as a provisional, rather than a finite resting point for texts".[58] There is at any rate a conspicuous reciprocity between print and community life, which

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[56] Chapter XXXI (1790): pp.133-34. The circulation (in sales) of *The Weekly Magazine* was about 3000 in 1779 (see Mary Craig, *The Scottish Periodical Press: 1750-1789*, Edinburgh, 1931, p.82).

[57] I have instanced the warning to "Auld wives" in 'The King's Birth-Day', but the same practice can be seen in 'Hallow-Fair' and 'Leith Races'.

[58] In *Writing and Orality: nationality, culture and nineteenth-century Scottish fiction*, Oxford, 1996, p.21.

makes of print the associate rather than the rival of colloquial culture.

As my examples have suggested, this is more obviously a tendency in Fergusson's contributions than in the *Magazine* as a whole (and the *Magazine* had, correspondingly, various views on the national question). Accordingly, his verse seems to reflect a more consistent policy than was used in the rest of the *Magazine* on one aspect of printing which I shall now discuss – typography.

It was one of the elementary failings of print, according to Sheridan, that it had not developed a system of notation adequate to the expressive resources of speech. He devotes the early part of his *Course of Lectures* to an exposition of this inadequacy, and makes a start on a better orthography in his *Rhetorical Grammar of the English Language*.[59] However, the larger remedy, the making of orthography fully informative to the reader so that "reading justly at sight, might be rendered as easy and as certain, as singing at sight", seemed to Sheridan more or less forlorn: "as there is little likelihood that any change will be made in the art of writing, it will be more immediately to the purpose, to enquire how the art of *reading* may be improved, whilst that of *writing* continues in its *present* state."[60] Yet the letterpress of his own text here seems to refute at least one of the insufficiencies of writing which he specifies, its failure to record emphasis.[61]

In fact the typography of Sheridan's text shows vestiges of a long tradition of what might be called polyphonic printing: the practice of finding in type-cases analogues for variations of the voice (and also of course for word-qualities of a syntactical and semantic kind which the voice cannot easily represent). In Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises* (published in 1683, and a standard manual for printers throughout the eighteenth century), the permutations of italics, capitals, and spacing are discussed in some detail. Moxon

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[59] See, in the *Course*, Lectures 1 and 3-5.
[60] *Course of Lectures*, p.14. By "reading", Sheridan here means reading aloud.
[61] "it surely has been a great defect in the art of writing, that there have been no marks invented for so necessary a purpose" (*Course of Lectures*, p.59).

calls this branch of the compositor's craft "toning and laying Emphasis".[62] An even more thorough attention is given to the topic in another authoritative manual of the time, John Smith's *Printer's Grammar*.[63] Smith has a more chaste ideal for typographic variations than Moxon's. However, he acknowledges the use of italics "for words, terms, or expressions which some authors would have regarded as more nervous [i.e.would like to be read as such]; and by which they intend to convey to the reader either instructing, satyrizing, admiring, or other hints and remarks". Some authors, again, "denote their emphatical expressions, by beginning them with Capitals, whether they be of the substantive kind, or otherwise". The use of small capitals throughout a word or words (Smith calls capitals "ensigns of honour and dignity") will indicate likewise "that a more particular stress and emphasis is intended by the Author, on such words and expressions as are distinguished by them". Even today there is some survival of these techniques, but they were already beginning to recede from more polite typography when Smith was writing. He warns printers that a too ready use of italics may be construed by readers merely as "want of Roman" in the typecases, and he reminds them that typographic promiscuity is characteristic of "Chapmens books".[64] It may have been the association with more demotic texts which prompted Sheridan to despair of this otherwise obvious contribution to voice-orientated print.

But Moxon's "toning and laying Emphasis" was a practice which

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[62] *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing*, ed. H.Davis and H.Carter, London, 1962 (1683), pp.216-17.

[63] London, 1755. For the leading position of these two works among printers' manuals in the hand-press period, see Philip Gaskell, Giles Barber, and Georgina Warrilow, 'An Annotated List of Printers' Manuals to 1850', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, no.4, 1968, pp.11-32.

[64] Quotations from *Printer's Grammar*, pp.14, 51, 211, 53, 14, 217. In the last of these quotations, Smith is talking specifically about title-pages. The title-pages of chapmen's books, with their coarse volubility, reflect both the oral culture to which their texts nearly belonged and the colloquial setting of their distribution (see the "chapmen billies" at work in Fergusson's 'Hallow-Fair'). In these respects they make a telling contrast with the monumental types, canonical texts, and anonymous distribution of Thomas Hollis's books, noticed in the previous chapter.

did survive in – among other places – *The Weekly Magazine*, and more plentifully in Robert Fergusson's verse than in the *Magazine*'s other verse or prose. Of course, it was Ruddiman's compositors who set the types, but there is some evidence that copy, rather than house-style, governed the presentation of any particular piece in the *Magazine*. That was certainly still the tradition in most printing houses. *The Printer's Grammar* notices house style as an innovation, but recommends the old rule that 'A Compositor should abide by his Copy, and not vary from it", adding that "it is safest to consult every Gentleman, lest some should chuse to shew themselves peculiar".[65] Some such context is suggested by the footnote in a contribution of August, 1773: referring to his heading, "NOLI ME TANGERE", the contributor writes "*This is my* favourite *motto, Mr* Printer, *and must therefore be in* CAPITALS"[66] (Ruddiman commonly was, as here, addressed as "Mr Printer", a practice which tends to confirm both the present argument as to typography, and my larger model of his magazine as a printed medium immediately responsive to colloquial life, or felt by its readers to be so). In Fergusson's pieces, the even more extensive use of "toning" certainly suggests author's prescription. His modern editor seems to believe so, saying "it is important that Fergusson's orthography should be rendered faithfully as revealing his pronunciation, and even that his use of italics or capitals should be retained as indicating the special stress or attention which he wished certain words to receive".[67]

It is not easy to detect system in Fergusson's practice here, or in all instances to judge what sort of "special stress or attention" he had in mind for the chosen words. Certainly there was no merely orthographic rule, since the same word will appear in different types even within the same poem – as, for instance, the word

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[65] *Printer's Grammar*, 1755, pp.199 and 14.

[66] *Weekly Magazine*, vol.XXI, 1773, p.175. Among other applications, italic letter was commonly used in the magazine both for direct speech and for footnotes and post-scripts: presumably these latter were thus to be distinguished as more personal in tone than the main text in question.

[67] See 'Editor's Preface' in McDiarmid, ed., *Poems*, vol.II, p.6.

"Britain" does in 'TEA. *A* POEM' (lines 70 and 84), or the word "Gowdspink" in the ode to that bird (three variants, in lines 3, 52, and 62). The immediate impression of variety is the obvious feature, and probably the one primarily intended. Printers in general still had little choice at that time among type-faces (most of which were not dignified by names, except generic ones referring to their size), and Ruddiman seems to have been, like most of his contemporaries, conservative and unselfconscious about such matters.[68] In that setting, Fergusson's poems do make a noticeable show. But the variety is not dormantly visual. However mysterious the semiotics of Fergusson's typography, the variations necessarily seem to represent (as McDiarmid suggests) modulations of voice of just that sort which Sheridan argues that "our written language is by no means calculated to answer": that is, "distinct articulation of words, pronounced in proper tones, suitably varied to the sense, and the emotions of the mind; with due observation of accent; of emphasis, in its several gradations; of rests or pauses of the voice, in proper places and well measured degrees of time; and the whole accompanied with expressive looks, and significant gesture".[69] And the variety is much more evident in the typography of Fergusson's Scottish poems than in that of his English poems, so that it is at its most expressive just when it corresponds to that striking sense of colloquial address which readers must have felt when they read those poems in the otherwise indistinguishably British discourse of *The Weekly Magazine*. We know from the verse responses which Fergusson received that there was that feeling in at least some readers.

Fergusson was content, as to the Scottishness of this address, to leave the impression general: that is, he does not seem to have made any effort to bring out his specifically Scots vocabulary by these typographic means. Possibly that would have been a futile project where the Scots is so plentiful; possibly it would have given

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[68] For this general point about type design in the period, see Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, Oxford, 1972, p.39.
[69] *Course of Lectures*, p.10.

the poems an undesired exhibitionary or antiquarian character, of the sort which print was just then beginning to impose upon Scots writing, preparatory to that larger valedictory conservation which came with Walter Scott and afterwards. William Wilkie's Scots poem 'The Hare and the Partan', with its conspicuous glossarial apparatus, had been offered in just such a spirit of demonstration, as "a true specimen of the Scotch dialect".[70] Fergusson's Scots, applied to the actualities of St Andrews and Edinburgh, could make no sense except as an unaffected currency.

If there is a definite policy to be found in Fergusson's typography, I believe that it relates not specifically to Scots but rather to oral culture as a whole, just as his Johnsonian polemic challenged not English specifically but print-culture as a whole. The matter which Fergusson highlights most consistently (I have said that there is no absolute consistency here) is the sort of folk phraseology which we have already encountered in the student marginalia: phrases which have a proverbial character or a formulaic/mnemonic style, or which show more generally the stylistic tendency which Walter Ong calls "aggregative" (that is, using collocations rather than words as individuals), a tendency typical of popular stores of discourse.[71]

I take first the poem '*To My* AULD BREEKS' as an instance. Of course there are words here which are conventionally marked as being proper names ("PHILIP", "*Macedon*"), or foreign terms ("*Vicissitudo*", "*Sic transit gloria mundi!*"). Then there are words which are given an emphasis we might call thematic, an emphasis which now implies some quality in a spoken or imagined voice: in lines 5 and 6, the words "AULD" and "NEW", and in the last line the word "MAN" are clearly such. "DROGS" and "BILL", in line 12, are thematic in a wider sense, as belonging to a preoccupation permanent in Fergusson's mind, so that their typography must

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[70] See *Fables*, Edinburgh, 1768, p.117.

[71] *Orality and Literacy*, pp.38-42. All three of these elements appear in some form in Ong's summary of the characteristics of oral discourse: aggregations on p.38, mnemonics on pp.34-35, and proverbial formulations on p.42.

imply for his regular readers some personal tone or sign (Sheridan's "expressive looks, and significant gesture"). The same is true of "MACARONIES" in line 59. But what of "FLESH and BLUDE"(2), "the Writers and the Bardies"(3), "Frae WIND and WEET, frae SNAW and HAIL"(20)? Or "*Prick-the-louse*" (for a tailor, line 53), or "*to wear the breeks*" (about a wife, line 64)? Phrases like these can be found highlighted everywhere in Fergusson's poetry. In '*To the* PRINCIPAL *and* PROFESSORS', there are "COOKS and SCULLIONS", "MAN an' WOMAN", "*snails* and *puddocks*", "*spice* and *ingans*". Often these phrases are also alliterative: "BELLES and BEAUX" in '*On Seeing a* BUTTERFLY *in the* STREET', "MARK by MARK" in 'HAME CONTENT. *A* SATIRE', which also has the plainly proverbial "far aff FOWLS hae FEATHERS fair". In these cases, the "toning and laying emphasis" evidently do not have reference to the individual voice of the poet. The attention is rather toward the communal or folk voice. Some of these formulaic and proverbial phrases are traditional, some only apparently so. Some, like the "GIRNAL'S *grist*" of 'ODE to the GOWDSPINK', are in the main track of their poems' themes; others, like "CRAIGS and MOUS" in *AULD REIKIE*, are by the way. They are not essentially highlights at all, therefore, but rather outcrops of the poetry's literary geology. Their effect is to support the impression of the poet's "living voice" with the sense of a whole vocal culture.

Walter Ong contrasts the event-like character of speech with the referential character of print or writing. Penny Fielding takes up this distinction, and uses the term "rites of speech" to suggest the sort of speaking which involves "a magical collapsing of sign and signifier into each other, as in spells or ritual utterances".[72] Something of this sort is implied in what James Hogg reports his mother saying to Walter Scott about his *Minstrelsy*: "there war never ane o' my sangs prentit till ye prentit them yousel', an' ye hae spoilt them awthegither. They were made for singing, an' no for reading; but ye hae broken the charm now, an' they'll never be

[72] *Writing and Orality*, p.16.

sung mair."[73] It was not simply by making print visually responsive to the expressive values of "living speech" that Fergusson could validate Scottish culture. On its own, that might be a strategy for conservation only (though, as we have seen, there is not the typographic emphasis on Scots words which such a strategy would suggest). His poetry was, as I have said, involved in current events, springing from them and looking forward to them. When he calls "*Fidlers*!" in 'THE DAFT-DAYS', it is not just a bit of direct speech: he will invite them to "banish vile Italian tricks" and so to second the Scottish case in a contemporary debate about the relative merits of traditional and imported music, a debate taking place in *The Weekly Magazine* itself, among other places.[74] That poem is of course wholly topical and pragmatic, from its first word "NOW" to the preparations in the last stanza for conflict with the City Guard. It is a quality shared by most of Fergusson's Scots poems. But the topicality is cyclical rather than linear, concerned more substantially with events which return – festivals, seasons, calendar-matters – than with mere incident, as the title of 'THE DAFT-DAYS' and many of the other titles suggest. Correspondingly, these poems celebrate the common and typical part in such occasions, the "social cheer", rather than the poet's personal experience of them. The typographical contribution in these Scots poems supports this same appeal to what is characteristic and persistent in Scottish culture. It is not the poet's personal voice which the typography amplifies, so much as the common voice of the Scottish people, that medium and record of their common experience.

Quite opposite in theme and style are Fergusson's English poems, which tend to show the poet alone and self-regarding. It is a contrast which finds its analogue in one of Walter Ong's divisions

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[73] *Memoir of the Author's Life* and *Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. Douglas Mack, Edinburgh, 1972, pp.136-37.

[74] See its 'Essay on Music; exhibiting a Comparison of the English, Scots and Irish, with the Italian', September 1st, 1768: vol.II, pp.273-74. A few weeks later, Fergusson himself devoted a whole poem, 'Elegy on the Death of Scots Music', to the subject.

between the "chirographic" and the oral consciousness: the second is distinguished from the first by its "lack of introspectivity, of analytic prowess, of concern with the will as such, of a sense of difference between past and future".[75] These actions of mind which Ong says the oral consciousness lacks are the faculties which Fergusson's English poems conspicuously employ. I have mentioned their preoccupation with solitude (promoting the poet's "introspectivity") and privation (one form of "difference between past and future"). No doubt the phrases "analytic prowess" and "concern with the will as such" would overstate the energy of thought and decision in this English verse, but essentially these are modes or functions of solitude, and they are indeed part of that private mind-scape in Fergusson's English verse which distinguishes it from the Scots poems. For it is not only actual solitude as against conviviality that delimits these two poetics. The relief from separated self-hood, a relief found in the community's "usual Rites" and as such persistently urged in the Scots poetry, is reversed by much of the English poetry in a deliberate turning from society (*The* DECAY *of* FRIENDSHIP's "devious pilgrimage") or at least a turning inward of the self to "Meditation", "the calm composure of the mind", or "the secret sigh".[76] And the sorts of truth which the poet handles in these contrasting situations correspond. In the Scots poems he inclines always towards a racial wisdom inherited in proverbial formulae ("far aff FOWLS hae FEATHERS fair") and other "auld-warld wordies"; in the English, towards private convictions. Even where there are generalisations in the English verse ("The STAGE the truest mirror is of life"), it is by analysis not familiarity that they must be made good: the English sentence just quoted in brackets opens a paragraph whose next three lines substantiate it; the Scots proverb quoted before it ends a paragraph, chorically rounding off and explaining the

[75] *Orality and Literacy*, p.30.
[76] Quotations from *Auld Reikie*, l.68; 'The Decay of Friendship', l.54; 'The Delights of Virtue', ll.5 and 8; and 'Ode to Disappointment', l.5.

narrative which comes before.[77]

The distinction which I have been discussing may be simplified to this: that whereas in the Scottish verse Fergusson the poet is of a piece with his subject-matter, speaking as one present in the time and place of its currency, in the English verse he is patently writing *about* it as a man of letters. Consequently, only in the English poems is there self-conscious literariness: the editorial "we" (throughout '*An* EXPEDITION *to* FIFE *and the Island of* MAY', giving it distinctly the character of a "per'patetic mood" rather than that of a real trip), literary archaisms ("yclepit", in the same poem, line 4), a specifically poetic diction ("verdant bow'r", "fairy train", in 'ODE to HOPE', lines 3 and 6). Fergusson was indeed an apprentice man of letters in these poems. As such, he was imitating his chosen masters (as McDiarmid explains),[78] and those were, of course, printed masters.[79] That their language was English is, as I have said before, accidental: Fergusson encounters and uses it as a language formed in print. He presumably did not feel, as most of his readers have done, how much this language baffled his genius. At any rate, he accepted the logic of print in his English verse, as he did not in his Scots verse. He accepted it, that is, as a practitioner: that he was still critically aware of the nature of its discipline when he was using it is evident, as I hope to have shown, in the poems '*To Dr* SAMUEL JOHNSON' and 'CODICILE *to* ROB. FERGUSSON'S LAST WILL'.

By contrast, he chose in his Scots poetry to work in the oral tradition of thought and sensibility. Hence it is that his own speaking voice, suggested visually in his texts, moves naturally into the larger voice of the community, which is likewise given, as I have suggested, visual prompts. The currency of his themes substantiates these suggestions of the live voice, of discourse not as a record but as a continuation of life. So far, then, from breaking

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[77] Quotations from 'Hame Content. A Satire', l.68; 'Answer to Mr J.S's Epistle', l.21; 'To Sir John Fielding, on his Attempt to suppress the Beggar's Opera', l.33.

[78] McDiarmid, ed., *Poems*, vol.I, p.189.

[79] Shenstone's poetry, now Fergusson's least explicable choice of model, was bought for the University Library in the year 1765–66, Fergusson's Rhetoric year. (Curators' Reports, p.63). The purchase was made by Robert Watson's "class".

the charm, Fergusson's Scots poetry in *The Weekly Magazine* offered Scottish colloquial culture its own way of life in print.

Turning back to Fergusson's Johnson poem for the last time, we notice how insistently the image of Dr Johnson there contradicts that colloquial culture and asserts print-culture. Instead of the nexus of event, speech, and responsive print, there is "literanian lore", a self-sufficient apparatus of "SYLLABLE and SYLLABLE", "scientific names" (the names comprising or even creating the knowledge), and "alphabetic columns". It is not through the cyclical continuity of life and speech that this apparatus will acculturise incidents and values (not, that is, by the sort of continuity that Walter Ong calls "homeostasis"):[80] it will "meminate" them in the objective record of "parchment fair". Above all, this "literanian lore" does not arise from the life of a people, but is being forced upon them by a "verbal potentate and prince", arrived from "LONDONA", the printing centre of Britain.

Certainly this is not a very good poem. The same event viewed from within Scottish culture, in Fergusson's poem '*To the* PRINCIPAL *and* PROFESSORS', makes a much better one. But there the opposition is the simpler, more dramatic opposition of nations. In '*To Dr* SAMUEL JOHNSON', nation is subordinate to the much less imagable opposition between print and oral ideologies. In imagining the triumph of print ideology, Fergusson has to imagine and parody something impossible: the absolute confinement of human experience inside what Pope, in his satire of print-culture, calls "the pale of words".[81] But there was such an ideology, and it did involve the revaluation of important aspects of social, intellectual, and religious life in Scotland. Fergusson's own practice as a writer showed something of that revaluation, as well as challenging it. In this respect he was both a typical product of his university and an exceptional one: typical in that he learned and

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[80] *Orality and Literacy*, p.46.
[81] *The Dunciad Variorum* , Book IV, l.160: p.357.

used the print-culture promoted by his professors, while also participating in its subversion by the student sodality; exceptional in that he brought this conflict into the public sphere and, in his Scots verse, offered a resolution of it which might have made the triumph of the press compatible with the survival and flourishment of traditional Scotch culture.

Chapter VIII: Conclusion

I mentioned in my 'Acknowledgements' – and have, since then, used as evidence – the extensive records of library business which survive at St Andrews. On the unpredictable fringes of this fine archive, there is a box entitled 'Miscellaneous Library Papers, A to I'.[1] Inside it, among various other eighteenth-century documentary remnants, there is a list of sixty-three book-titles and, folded with them, a memorandum dated December 3rd, 1762, explaining their unhappy significance. The St Andrews bookseller Patrick Bower had reported to one of the professors of the United College that books were being stolen from his shop, and that he thought students might be doing the stealing. The Hebdomadar at the time was Robert Watson, and that evening, "at the usual hour of perlustrating students' rooms", he made enquiries as to "what books were in the possession of each of the students". These enquiries came to an end in a room occupied by the two brothers Henry and David Rattray. In the room there was a box belonging to David Rattray, the key to which had been entrusted to the college porter, John Hogg. Someone was sent to fetch Hogg and the key, and Rattray then confessed that Bower's books were indeed inside the box, and that he himself had been the thief. When Hogg arrived, the box was opened and all Bower's listed titles were found inside, together with a few others whose loss Bower had not noticed. Each one had David Rattray's name written inside.

This wretched ending to Rattray's career at St Andrews (he left the following day) no doubt had its own psychic aetiology. However, if his stealing was indeed morbid rather than simply dishonest, it was a disease of education as well as a disease of personality – at any rate, a diseased expression of that educational regime in which Rattray had been studying and which I have been sketching. The sixty-three titles listed by Bower are clearly related to

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[1] St Andrews University Library MS LY980/1.

the university Arts course. Some, like Watson's *Horace* and Patrick's *Terence*, were evidently course-texts. Many are works to which Robert Watson was directing the attention of students in his Rhetoric lectures (David Rattray was in his second year, the Rhetoric year, at this time): Young's *Night thoughts*, Addison's poems and plays, Pope's *Homer*, Thomson's *Seasons*, Smith's translation of Longinus, Wilkie's *Epigoniad*. Rattray was evidently not expecting to deal in these books, or he would not have betrayed himself by signing them. If it was true that the box could not be unlocked without Hogg's assistance, it seems unlikely that Rattray was even expecting to make any regular use of the books himself. He seems simply to have been hoarding them. In this he was, I will suggest, caricaturing some of the most distinctive habits of print-culture.

To objectify discourse in collections of books had of course been possible ever since writing was first used. But printing not only made the formation of such libraries less expensive and therefore more common; it qualified their iconography of private and exclusive ownership with plainer intimations of the owner's participation in a larger world of learning, for print must mean discourse at large, as manuscript need not. We have seen in Chapter I how such intimations were exploited at St Andrews University.

At the same time as print thus made a collection of books necessarily a station or terminal of the common intellectual culture, it was also privatising the act of access to that culture. As books proliferated and the habit of reading spread widely in the middle class, so the received image of the reader tended to situate him or her in the private house, and generally in the private rooms of that house, the "closet" or the "cabinet". Certainly such privacy had been quite possible in manuscript times: Roger Chartier, in a discussion of silent reading, dates this "new relation with writing [...], more private, freer, and totally internalized" to a

time "well before the Gutenberg invention".[2] Conversely, reading aloud remained common in certain settings into and throughout the nineteenth century: Thomas Bowdler's project of expurgation, as we have seen, was meant to serve that habit, and even treated it as the rightful determinant of literary standards. Still, Bowdler knew that hitherto it had not been determining them. Therefore, a work of merit might yet fail the family test, in which case "I would advise the transferring it from the parlour to the cabinet".[3] The "cabinet", under various names, was indeed irreducibly the eighteenth-century reading site, and not only for reading as a domestic pastime. I have recorded that one of the St Andrews professors expressly preferred the "closet" over the lecture-room for student instruction.[4] The Library, which one might regard as coming half-way between those poles of solitary and social learning, had in fact been for the last hundred years gradually narrowing its hospitality to students, and was, by the time of that professor's evidence, a place where students were not expected to sit and read.[5] I have, too, mentioned the migration in preference and practice from the institutional model of life to the domestic.[6] The use of words like "closet" and "cabinet" as metonymies for reading were giving it a place in a larger ideology of private life.

Out of this intimate setting no doubt came that sentimentalising of the reader's relationship with books which we find in the eighteenth century – for instance, in Lord Chesterfield's whimsical division of his books into types of acquaintance – a habit which Joseph Addison mildly mocks in his portrait of the bookish Leonora.[7] This variety of whimsy is, one may assume, a product of

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[2] Roger Chartier, ed., *The Culture of Print*, Cambridge, 1989, p.2 (in 'General Introduction').
[3] *A Letter to the Editor of the British Critic*, p.37.
[4] See above, p. 104.
[5] See above, p. 133; for a student's testimony to this effect, see *Evidence*, vol.III, p.85.
[6] See above, pp.98-99.
[7] *Lord Chesterfield's Worldly Wisdom*, ed. George Birkbeck Hill, Oxford, 1891, p.11, cited in Chartier, *The Culture of Print*, p.2; *Spectator*, no.37, April 12th, 1710 (ed. Aitken, vol.I, pp.188-94).

the peculiarly immediate contact of private reader and public culture which print introduced, and which I have noticed above by describing collections of books as terminals. The contact of course persists. I would suggest that it is demonstrated in the strange double life enjoyed by most of those who have been reading the modern novel since it was liberated by the failed prosecution of Penguin Books under the Obscene Publications Act in 1962: such people may freely deal, as readers, in franknesses of idea and language which their colloquial culture still scarcely accommodates. This is not altogether a digression. It helps us to understand the reader's closet as a place where the mind may liberate itself, or at least flatter itself as liberated, from the various constraints and impediments of more public discourse. This, I believe, is partly what was in David Rattray's mind, but I shall return to the point a little later.

Literary privacy had, of course, a commercial dimension. "Print, bringing words into the market-place as never before, created a new interest in them, the interest of property."[8] The writer quoted here, Christopher Small, is thinking of authorial interest, and it may suitably be mentioned in this connection that the Copyright Acts, which so much enlarged the holdings of St Andrews and the other universities, were primarily a provision for the commercial interests of authors and booksellers, the legal deposit arrangement being an exceptional condition. But necessarily there was a corresponding proprietorship for the reader: for instance, once printing-presses had spread, and their products become cheaper, "scholars, previously almost bound to confine their studies to the contents of (usually monastic) libraries, might now aspire to own many books of their own".[9] By the eighteenth century, even young students might so aspire: when Patrick Bower guessed that his books had been taken by students, it was not just because they were scholarly books, but also because "the shop uses to be much

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[8] Christopher Small, *The Printed Word*, Aberdeen, 1982, p.37.
[9] Small, *The Printed Word*, p.38.

frequented by students".[10]

Certainly, owning books was primarily a matter of utility, then as now. For students at St Andrews, to own the basic texts was apparently essential.[11] But the buying and owning of books was and is no more strictly practical than the appropriation of any other inessential goods. Books readily represent something beyond and even independent of their contents. The universities recognised that fact, we have seen, when they petitioned Parliament not to withdraw their Copyright Act entitlement.[12] It is noticed satirically in the poem 'CODICILE *to* ROB. FERGUSSON'S LAST WILL', which I discussed in Chapter VII. There, Fergusson comments on the "Braid Claith" effect, that show of luxury which makes (in both poems) even the genius of Isaac Newton beside the point. More reasonably, books represent the mind of their possessor, as, for instance, Leonora's library does hers in Addison's *Spectator* paper number 37.[13] So, for scholars and would-be scholars books represent learning, and in particular the books they own represent their own learning. However, this symbolism too is independent of the books' actual consumption. In Johnson's *Dictionary*, the word "literature" means uniquely what a person possesses by the act of reading. But Johnson had an unusually positivistic attitude to books; the word had already made a semantic shift in this period, coming to be used rather for a corpus of writing, particularly a representative corpus, than for a quantity of reading done. One factor in that shift may well have been the increase in book-ownership and a consequently quickened sense of books as objects having a spokesman's authority on behalf of the owner as well as the author.

Before returning to the Rattray affair, I shall briefly resume the foregoing points about reading and the printed book. Printing

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[10] Quoted from the memorandum in 'Miscellaneous Library Papers, A to I'.
[11] See *Evidence*, vol.III, pp.292-93.
[12] See above, p.23.
[13] On this and other instances of the expressive library, see Rémy G. Saisselin, 'After the battle: imaginary libraries in the eighteenth century', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, vol.CCCXI, 1993, pp.115-41.

expedited the making of an object world of discourse, consisting of books and libraries. At the same time as locating discourse in this way, it made the locations terminals to the widest possible intellectual culture. But gaining access to this culture was less and less of a common enterprise: as print proliferated, so reading could and did become characteristically a private activity. The sequence from voice to manuscript to print, locationally from the forum to the closet, shifted the paradigm of discourse from social exchange to solitary rumination. That solitude, and the book-ownership which (together with the habit of silent reading) made it possible and characteristic, also gave particular sets of books a powerfully descriptive reference to their possessor.

That David Rattray impropriated Bower's books and crammed them into a box with a lock may therefore be interpeted as a neurotic but also quite intelligible effort on his part to keep up with his studies: the box could then become, like the closet, a metonymy and substitute for his reading, his immediate claim to the ambiguous "literature". The books as one by one removed and ticked off on the list, on that evening of December 3rd, each book with his name in it, represented doubtless a serial dishonesty, but perhaps also Rattray's attempt to gain, by a superstitious exploitation in private of the merely symbolic attributes of print-culture, a university education of the kind being promoted in Scotland in his time.

I have, accordingly, described Rattray's proceeding as a morbid expression of the Scottish ideology of education. Yet surely the solitary and secretive hoarding of books suggests a characterising image of that ideology very unlike the one offered in the received history of the Scottish Enlightenment? From that, we know of it as an era of clubs and societies, notable academic personalities and friendships, strong patriotic and civic consciences, and more generally that aspiration to politeness of which there has been plentiful evidence in these pages. But here precisely is a part of the explanation, as we saw in Chapter III. The rising status of the

professoriate, its move from harrassed regenting to learned gentility, tended to separate it from student life both intellectually and pastorally. Intellectually, the printed book of course became more prominent in teaching, but likewise in the case of pastoral care the spiritual and moral guidance hitherto derived from ministers and mentors was looked for in print. I have given instances of this recourse in earlier chapters, but I will summarise them here by means of one more instance, taken from a contemporary literary product of St Andrews, the *Fables* of William Wilkie.

Wilkie intends his introductory fable to illustrate the principle on which fable-writing is based. Those "moral lectures" whose adminstration *viva voce* is rejected by the recipient –

> In conversation none will bear it;
> And as for the pulpit, few come near it

– become acceptable in the form of stories. Wilkie likens the fable to a mirror

> where we spy
> At large our own deformity,
> And learn of course those faults to mend
> Which but to mention would offend.

This is a traditional image for art's truth-telling, certainly, but Wilkie makes a point not so much of the art as of the privacy: when "The maid who spurn'd at all advice" does miraculously accept her lesson, it is in her own special retreat or sulking-corner, and from a "silent monitor" (literally a mirror placed there, figuratively a fable). The "maid" is a child, not a case-hardened adult, and yet the preacher, the teacher, and the parent are here bettered by the book studied in private.[14]

It is clear that Scottish educationists did share some of the contemporary distrust of a merely bookish education. The academy of Fordyce's *Dialogues concerning Education* probably continued in

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[14] William Wilkie, *Fables*, Edinburgh, 1768, pp.1-5: quotations from lines 17, 19-20, 83-86, 77, and 80.

the later eighteenth century to image their ideal, even as the Scottish universities became less and less like it. Therefore it was, paradoxically, in a conscious effort to remedy problems which a more thorough bookishness was introducing into the universities that the recourse was made to print-substitutes for Fordyce's highly pastoral representations. In so far as the aligning of Scottish culture to print-ideology was confidently and unconditionally promoted in the universities, it was not a pedagogic project so much as an academic one: it forwarded the work and reputation of the professoriate rather than the interests of the students.

However, we have seen that the project was not narrowly academic. The universities of Scotland enjoyed a supra-national relevance and reputation; at the same time, they were structurally intimate with the only survival of representative government within the nation, the Church of Scotland. They were uniquely capable of reforming Scottish culture as a whole, and uniquely interested in doing so. This was indeed their larger project. But it was not, I hope to have shown, simply a project to Anglicise that culture in order to give Scottish professionals, writers, and politicians a smooth entry into London-centred British life. Certainly there was assimilation of that kind, and print was its chief medium. The Copyright Act, following so closely upon the Treaty of Union and providing immediate Scottish access to London presses at a time when Scottish printing and publishing were undeveloped, seemed to imply such a model of future cultural relations. But that was not quite the model which in time the universities came to promote, nor was it in fact in the nature of print to effect it.

"Presbytery", Hugh Blair wrote in a letter to Adam Smith, "Connects the Teachers too closely with the People".[15] When the moderate ministers, their leadership mainly in the universities, reformed the Church's culture in the mid-century, they did so by

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[15] *The Correspondence of Adam Smith*, ed. Mossner and Ross, p.189 (letter dated April 3rd, 1776).

centralising its authority: politically by asserting the power of the General Assembly over local and individual consciences, liturgically (the aspect which I have discussed in Chapter II) by supplanting the old theology of enthusiasm with printed models of sermon and prayer. Since printing is a mass-production technique, its tendency is to break elite monopolies in literary culture; it is therefore imaginable as an essentially popularising medium of communication. *The Printed Word,* Christopher Small's book cited above, accordingly has for its sub-title 'An Instrument of Popularity'. This was indeed how Joseph Addison presented the *Spectator* papers, as we have noticed.[16] And print certainly was an instrument of popularity in the case, for instance, of Blair's own sermons, in the sense that it made them available to the people at large. At the same time, however, it was an instrument of gentrification, substituting a polite culture for one which was, as we have seen, authentically popular, and that gentrification was happening in Scotland's secular life as well as in the Church. That there was no marked popularising effect in the other direction, the expression in print of popular culture, was partly the result of a deliberate management of Scottish culture, a management in which the new Rhetoric played some part, as we saw in Chapter IV. It was partly the result, also, of the polarisation of Scottish culture since the Union of the Crowns which, by removing the Scottish Court to London, had broken the traffic between popular and written discourses, and so kept popular culture insulatedly oral. When popular material did appear in print, it tended to appear as a curiosity – antiquarian or anthropological. So it appeared, for instance, in William Wilkie's fable in Scots of the Hare and the Partan, presented as a "true specimen of the Scotch dialect" with footnoted glossary and a "story adapted to the ideas of peasants".[17]

Probably there never can be a free migration of popular culture into print, even in times of general literacy. Print has its own

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[16] In particular, when he discusses the periodical's purpose in issue 10: see above, p.257.

[17] Fable XVI in *Fables*, pp.117-123 (quotation from p.117).

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complicated Muse, as Fergusson, trying to liberalise it, complained. It remakes its inheritances: so David Buchan has shown in the case of the ballads, and Richard Hoggart in the case of British culture in the twentieth century.[18] Even where there is free, unmanaged literary commerce of the Lackington kind (and we have seen that this was being anxiously resisted in eighteenth-century Scotland), the result must be a compromise of traditions, and a truer epithet than Small's for the printed word would therefore be "instrument of entropy". I do not mean to establish general truths about printing here, but I do believe that the idea of entropy is the one which fits what the managers of Scottish culture were aiming at in our period. When Principal Murison said to Samuel Johnson, of the St Andrews Library, "You have not such a one in England", he no doubt made an absurdly parochial claim, but we should not understand it simply as the product of parochial pride. The models for that Library, we saw in Chapter I, were largely English, British at least. Murison was not, then, showing the metropolitan tourist a Scottish site, any more than later that day he would, as one of Johnson's hosts, be showing him Scottish cuisine. What he meant was not "you have not anywhere in your country what we have in ours", but "you have not in your part of Britain what we have in our part". Print provided the entropic medium in which a free traffic in emulation was possible. In such a medium could James Thomson, John Home, and Ossian migrate freely and effectively through Britain. To get Scotland into print was therefore much more than an educational project; it was the means by which Scotland could become North Britain.

In my discussion of the academic subject Rhetoric, I have likewise wished to identify print, rather than the English language particularly, as its prized medium. The reformed subject privileged not so much English texts as the text *per se*. In its metamorphosis into criticism, and its steady disuse of the old practical Rhetoric, it

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[18] David Buchan, *The Ballad and the Folk*; Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy*, London, 1957.

signalled a profound acceptance of the copyright ideal, effectively establishing the star-system in literary studies. This system it to some extent (and, we have seen, deliberately) inherited from classical studies, but I hope to have shown how qualified with literary democracy the system had been in its former setting. In the new subject there did survive the intention to use these canonical models for student imitation: the intention is evident in Watson's lectures and in Blair's. But the new direction was characteristically away from that, and it was a direction confirmed by the romantic conception of inspired poetry which developed during the later years of the eighteenth century. That conception has rightly been traced in part to the new Scottish Rhetoric.[19] The subject's promotion of spectator-criticism, together with its high estimate of the moral influence of literature, necessarily forwarded the idea of the poet as exceptional and prophetic. It was not by chance that the bright day of Scottish Rhetoric coincided with that of Ossian.

James Macpherson's poetry, ostensibly the rescue in print of a long oral tradition as it faded in memory and manuscript, but in fact peculiarly a product of the modern imagination in the opaque and anonymous solitude of print, would indeed make a fitting image for the print-culture of which I have been speaking in this dissertation. However, I conclude instead with one nearer home, and one that is more frankly triumphant to balance the story of defeat with which I began the chapter. The image is that of Samuel Martin – for most of his working life the minister at Monimail, Fife, and chaplain to the Lord High Commissioner, the Earl of Leven and Melville – as painted by his brother David in about 1789.[20] The painting shows the minister in his study. Perhaps he is composing a sermon; certainly he is gazing upward and out of the

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[19] See, for instance, James Engell in 'The New Rhetoric and Romantic Poets', in *Rhetorical Traditions and British Romantic Literature*, ed. Don H. Bialostosky and Lawrence D. Needham, Indiana, 1995, pp.217-32.

[20] See *Dundee City Art Gallery Catalogue*, n.d., p.82, catalogue no. 79/12; also, Lucy Dixon, 'David Martin (1737-1797): a Catalogue Raisonné of his Portraits in Oils', unpublished M.Phil thesis, St Andrews University, 1994, p.210 and associated plate.

picture-frame as if receiving inspiration, and a strong light falls directly upon his upturned face, even though he has his back to the window which is the only visible source of light in the picture. Supposing that it is holy inspiration, however, it is such as Samuel Johnson pleads for in his rhetorical question about the modern minister: "if he has any hope of supernatural help, why may he not as well receive it when he writes as when he speaks".[21] For the painting's composition leads the inspiration which illuminates Samuel's face down the strong diagonal of his shoulder, arm and hand, and prepares to earth it in another circle of light where his pen will touch the white surface of paper. However, the nature of the sitter's inspiration is uncertain. The index finger of the left hand, against which Samuel Martin's head leans, points heavenward with his eyes, but it also highlights with its touch the fine and labouring brow of an engrossing sensibility. His costume is only allusively clerical, its dramatic contrasts of black and white suggesting a Hamlet as readily as a minister. The portrait, in fact, is highly personal and theatrical, and pictures the romantic ideal of poetic visitation as convincingly as it does the divine afflatus.

Behind Martin in this picture is a case of books: uniformly bound and ranged folios, quartos, and octavos, slim and elegant rather than substantial, more suggestive of belles lettres than of Scripture or pietistics. At least, the hint is that whatever the sitter himself is writing will not long remain in manuscript. Samuel Martin did indeed publish both divinity and poetry. I have quoted from one of his published sermons.[22] The minutes of the Senatus at St Andrews record a gift from him in 1795 of two poems – presumably the "epistles", one to the Princess of Wales and one upon the death of James Boswell, which had been published individually in that same year.[23] Combining the genres, he had

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[21] *Journey*, p.87: there is no question mark in the original.
[22] See above, pp.52-3.
[23] December 7th, 1795 (*Library Bulletin*, vol.II, p.504); *A Poetical Epistle addressed to the Princess of Wales,,* and *An Epistle, in verse, occasioned by the Death of James Boswell, Esq. of Auchinleck* (both published in Edinburgh, in 1795).

been a member of the Committee of the General Assembly which had prepared a further contribution to the printed liturgy, *Translations and Paraphrases, in verse, of several passages of Sacred Scripture* [...] *to be sung in the Churches.*[24]

Here is the moderate minister – personable, genteel, literary – as I spoke of the kind in my second chapter. Here also is the Ossianic poet, for whom divine inspiration, "enthusiasm", is a metaphor only, and the prophetic genius a gift of the kind which Shelley, Coleridge, and Keats would write about, and generations of English Literature students subserve in their untutored prose. His setting as a writer is more than private: he is rapt. There is nothing personal between him and the public culture represented by the books behind him, just as Wilkie's maid reads in a super-solitude, addressing with the book parts of her conscience inaccessible to the human voice, and just as David Rattray secretly hoarded the St Andrews canonical texts in his locked chest. These three scenes span the period from the 1760s to the 1780s when, as we saw in Chapters VI and VII, the St Andrews students, and in particular Robert Fergusson, were quizzing print on behalf of a traditional colloquial culture. In each scene, the absence of that culture is absolute: in each, the context for discourse is a self-sufficient solitude. But most of all is that context triumphant in the portrait, which, in its conflation of the minister, the man of letters, the reader, and the gentleman, and in its narrative of discourse as thought, script, and print, sums up much of what I have been saying about St Andrews University and Scottish national culture in the eighteenth century. Appropriately, then, in the closing years of that century we find the following record in the minutes of the St Andrews University Senatus: "The University [...] unanimously agree to confer the Degree of Doctor in Divinity upon Mr Samuel Martin Minister of Monymeal – The University agree that this Degree shall be given gratis."[25]

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[24] Edinburgh, 1781.

[25] Minutes of the University Senatus for April 16th, 1798, St Andrews University Library MS UY452/10, pp.169-70.

Appendix I: List of curiosities in the possession of the St Andrews University Library, up to 1838

1. As recorded in the Minutes of the Literary and Philosophical Society, with date of accession added, where known or probable:

2 pairs shoes (Chinese)
13 tusks of various animals
a flag, a cup, and a canoe
a bat; a stalactite
pair of horns; bottle of gold dust
cane tube from Delagoa Bay
5 necklaces
2 lachrymatories and stand from Grecian Archipelago
scales of fish, caught off Port Delgado; knife from Madagascar
4 pieces of vegetable cloth
dried gourd[?], 2 pairs of nutshells
3 pieces of coral
pair of snow-shoes from Canada [Nov.15th, 1834]
paddle from New Ireland
4 spears: 2 iron-headed from Guyana, 2 basaltic from Duke of York's Island
picture of spotted negro [May 11th, 1753]
Burmese sword and silver scabbard [March 3rd, 1827]
bow, quiver, and 53 arrows
bow, quiver, and 20 arrows from New Guinea
leaf of the Talipot tree (mounted)
3-pronged spear from Kingsmill Group
musical instrument with small gongs
small alligator [Nov.14th, 1829]; scalp of North American Indian
box of Burmese MSS [Sept.10th, 1832] and Hindoo MSS
3 pocket books; a pincushion
bark basin, pouch, and flask
2 bundles of split bamboos (musical)
Malay creese [sword]
musical instrument (lyre)
calculus from a mare
carved figure; Miss Dalmahoy's glass[?]

model of a war canoe [Nov.26th, 1831]
Egyptian mummy in case [July 17th, 1781]
hammock and mattress [?]
New Zealander's head [July 20th, 1831]
Burmese idol (sulphur of barytes[?]) [Nov.3rd, 1827]
2 ditto, metallic
30 bottles of snakes &c. [April 9th, 1789, and Oct.8th, 1831]

2. As noted under "Ethnological" in the Catalogue of the Museum of the Literary and Philosophical Society, pp.116-125 (these are not necessarily additional to the above list, but include probable fuller identifications of some of the same items):
bark cup, bearing date of donation 1728
shoes from Bay of Campeachy, Gulf of Mexico
hammock from Brazil
figure carved by a blind man, ditto
parasol from leaf of Talipot tree (Ceylon)
painting of a parti-coloured boy, from Brazil
Eskimo knife of meteoric iron, brought by Captain Ross from the Arctic regions
gourd, used as a bottle, from Fernando Po [Nov.17th, 1832]
a cheese-holder [?]

3. As noted in Senatus minutes, excepting those things already listed above in the Society's records:
"a curious criture caled a bittle" [Nov.19th, 1773]
6 pieces of silver coin, from Orkney [May 22nd, 1775]
sea cocoa-nut [Nov.4th, 1776]
"some Eastern curiosities" [with the mummy, July 17th, 1781]
spear of iron-wood from the Sandwich Islands [Jan.3rd, 1792]
Foulah quiver, bow, and charm; Mandingo belt, knife, &c. [Feb.2nd, 1795]
box of shells [March 5th, 1808]
Indian bowl [Dec.8th, 1827]

4. Books and papers, not already listed above, which were treated as rarities (dates from Senatus minutes):
copy of Koran, from library of the late Sultan of Mysore [August

27th, 1806]
New Testament, and tracts, in Chinese [Feb.4th, 1815]
papyrus Bible [nov.11th, 1826]

5. Pictures, medals, etc., not already listed above (dates from Senatus minutes):
"cartons [sic], with some other smaller scripture prints" [May 5th, 1740]
"a plate of the branches of the family of Hanover done by Sir Thomas Brand" [May 11th, 1753]
tree of the royal family of the Stuarts, by Robert Douglass [Dec.11th, 1753]
"copperplate of alphabets of several languages" [May 18th, 1761]
box of prints from Thomas Hollis [August 30th, 1762]
portrait of Lord Cardross, earl of Buchan [ordered to be put up, March 23rd, 1768]
medal of Emperor and Empress of Germany [March 23rd, 1770]
bust of the King [June 6th, 1774]
drawings by John Oliphant of the ruins of St Andrews [Sept.18th, Dec.13th, 1775]
print from Vandyke of the procession of the Knights of the Garter [August 1st, 1783]
portrait of Chancellor Kinnoull [Sept.16th, 1791]
medal of General Melville by Tassie [Sept.16th, 1791]
print of Raeburn's portrait of the King in Scotland [July 10th, 1830]
engraving of Messrs Braithwaite and Ericson's locomotive engine [Oct.9th, 1830]
print of Wilkie's News of Waterloo, given by the artist [April 26th, 1832]

6. The skeleton, mentioned in Francis Douglas' *Description*: This seems to have been prepared for display in 1707, but was possibly not exhibited until 1714; a minute of January 23rd in that year mentions "the skeleton, set in a frame and covered with glass", for which an inscription was to be provided.

In addition to these things, there are frequent references in the Senatus minutes and other records to maps, globes, and scientific

instruments which were also kept in the Library.

Appendix II: Borrowing records of St Andrews University, 1748 – 1782

The records of borrowing activity tabled below are taken from five sample periods, based on the matriculation years 1748, 1753, 1768, 1773, and 1782. In each case, the records follow the matriculated students through their whole Arts course – in principle, four years. The sample as a whole, therefore, covers a substantial part of the period which I have been mainly concerned with in other chapters, the period which began with the 1747 Union of Colleges and ended with the election of Henry Dundas to the Chancellorship of the University (1788), the associated domination of the Hill family in the University, and a relative stagnation of intellectual life there. However, because there is at least one volume missing from the Receipt Books (the borrowing registers) of the period – the volume or volumes which would have been dated 1759 to 1768 – it was not possible to spread the sampling evenly. I have wished, besides, to make clear divisions between successive regimes in Rhetoric, where the changes in educational values were most conspicuous during the period. Accordingly, the first two student groups, of 1748 and 1753, pursued university careers which fall wholly within the professorship of Henry Rymer. The next two, of 1768 and 1773, are within Robert Watson's time. The last group, of 1782, was studying under William Barron when he was sufficiently settled to have devised his own course of lectures (His *Synopsis* was published in 1781). Of course there were other professorial influences affecting the use of the University Library in this time – some of which, like Hugh Cleghorn's, one might expect to detect in these records, others remaining hidden – but in so far as I have selected the years, I have been guided by these Rhetoric regimes. Otherwise, I have allowed the years to select themselves with such evenness of distribution as the surviving records allow.

It is unfortunately impossible to make these sets of records exactly

comparable from year to year. There are some factors which arbitrarily distort the relations between the sets. From 1768, for instance, the year in which the incumbency of the unhappy William Vilant begins in the Library, the records become less precise and consistent. By the 1780s, it is often impossible to be certain even of the year of a particular borrowing. Other aspects of the record-keeping at that time correspond, and it seems likely that there were more vicarious borrowings than before, more late returns (making books unavailable which might otherwise have been borrowed again), and also more unregistered "loans", whether returned or not. There was, as a matter of routine, a review of the Library at the end of Vilant's appointment (reported to the Senatus on 14th June, 1788), but this, which detected only thirty-four missing books, seems to have been fairly perfunctory.[1] The more complete review which was reported with some consternation on 2nd August, 1798, is probably a better reflection of the decline in standards in the Library since the 1770s.[2] That review found that three hundred and twenty-nine titles were missing and ninety-six sets incomplete, and reported other lapses of library discipline affecting the borrowing of books.

Some other factors which affect the comparability of these record-sets are more essential in the life of the University, and therefore more informative. I have mentioned that the Arts course was devised as a four-year period of study. The Receipt Books sometimes reflect that design with neat four-year borrowing careers. More often, the borrowing of an individual student will occupy only a part of his possible career at the University. The explanation must frequently be that the student did not complete the course, but whereas there are clear records of matriculation (though not exhaustive ones), there are no formal records of departure, except those for the rare graduations. The blank years, if they come at the end of a borrowing sequence, are therefore

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[1] *Library Bulletin*, vol.II, pp.464-65.
[2] *Library Bulletin*, vol.II, pp.511-13.

equivocal: they may represent periods of less enterprising study; they may simply mean that the student has left. This uncertainty affects all the records, but not quite evenly, because there seems to have been a downward drift in the length of university careers at St Andrews.[3]

More obviously affecting comparability, the numbers of students in the five sample years differ, and within those numbers also the proportion of students who feature as borrowers in the Library's records.[4] In both these cases, however, there is a trend upward, as will be seen, showing the steady growth in size and intellectual activity of the University in the period.

In order to take these differences into account, and as far as possible to make the five record-sets comparable, I have calculated the total years (called "study-years" in the table below) which we may suppose were spent at the university by all the students in each set, treating matriculation as year one, and the summer after the last recorded loan as the time of departure.[5] Tables 1 and 2, overleaf, show some of the results of these calculations:

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[3] This is not a surprising development, given the tendency in the period to regard St Andrews as a preparation for other universities, and the increasing freedom of choice in Scottish academic studies, both of which factors we have already encountered.

[4] It may be noticed, also, that one or two individuals in these records are gargantuan borrowers, and in a small sample such as this their influence on the figures will be somewhat unbalancing.

[5] Some students matriculated in the second year. This usually did mean arrival in that year, but it could mean that they had simply missed the opportunity to matriculate at the proper time. Where the receipt books make this second reason the obvious one, I have of course dated their career from the earlier year. Incidentally, I have had to take these second-year matriculands from the lists succeeding the years which I have selected – e.g. from the 1749 list in the case of 1748 – omitting the second-year matriculands within the chosen years. The awkward procedure is necessary in order to keep together students who were really academic contemporaries.

Table 1

	Number in year	Number, and whole percentage of borrowers in year		Average stay in years
1748	18	12	66%	3.91
1753	19	16	84	3.31
1768	30	27	90	2.92
1773	27	27	100	3.07
1782	31	28	90	2.57

Table 2

	Total study-years of all students	Total loans	Average student borrowing/year
1748	53	517	9.75
1753	56	659	11.76
1768	82	1132	13.8
1773	83	1189	14.32
1782	75	1117	14.89

It will be noticed that the result in average yearly borrowing, after this process of adjustment, suggests only a modest increase during the period. No doubt the restrictions on student use of the Library, which I have spoken about elsewhere, played a part in this, as also the decline in discipline there during the later years, which may have affected the efficient circulation of the more demanded titles, as well as obscuring the actual use made of the books.[6]

[6] A further incalculable, of course, is the number of books owned by students. There was certainly a thriving bookshop serving the University (see Chapter VIII). In the later part of the copyright period, it seems that students were expected to have their own copies of the set texts (see *Evidence*, vol.III, pp.292-93), and we may assume that this was more or less the case also in the years covered by the above records.

I turn now to the books themselves. If borrowing as a whole increased only modestly, did it remain similar in kind? Table 3 suggests that borrowing became much more various:

Table 3

	Total of different books borrowed	No. borrowed more than 4 times
1748	272	11
1753	267	23
1768	560	22
1773	568	26
1782	683	12

This table, being a count of titles rather than acts of borrowing, gives some idea of the nature of the reading supplied by the Library in the period. The increase in borrowing of the more popular or prescribed titles is modest, and in fact finally reversed.[7] These titles make a decreasing proportion of the whole, because there is a brisk increase in the range of titles borrowed during the period. Here, then, is some statistical evidence for those new values in university education which I have been discussing. It suggests a change from education by group-passage through course-books – a class-centred education – toward a much less supervised and more individualised education, in fact a literary education in the broad sense, a printed-book education.

Table 4, overleaf, shows in more detail the percentage proportions which some different subjects enjoyed of total borrowings:

[7] I have of course counted as one title the several volumes of multi-volume sets.

Table 4

	1748	1753	1768	1773	1782
Classics	18.7	27.1	14.8	19	13.2
History	6.9	10.3	10.3	13	19.7
Literature:					
Drama	0.06	0.02	5.5	3.4	4.7
Fiction	9.3	2.7	14.4	9.3	8.6
General	4.7	4.3	6.1	7	7.4
Periodicals	1.7	2.7	8.6	9.3	3.5
Poetry	4.8	8.6	11.4	6.3	8.1
Criticism	5	4.6	4	5.9	6.2
(Total literature:	25.6	22.9	49.9	41.3	38.6)
Moral Philosophy	5.4	6.1	4	4	2.1
Theology	9	5.3	1.1	2.3	1.6
Voyages, travel	1.5	1.7	1.8	1.7	6
Other subjects	32.9	26.6	18.1	18.7	18.8

What will be noticed here is the increase in the proportion of specifically literary borrowing, especially during Robert Watson's time, and particularly in drama and periodicals. There is also a noticeable increase in history-reading. These figures are percentages, and therefore any increase must be matched by a decline elsewhere. The decline was no doubt partly in the 'Other subjects' not particularised here: my figures are not, therefore, fully descriptive. In so far as they do offer suggestions, we may suppose that modern literature not only competed with classical literature, but also to some extent usurped the functions of theology and moral philosophy – as indeed Robert Watson's literary theory argued that it properly might, and more largely the moderate movement in the Church permitted it to do.

The rest of Appendix II shows in full the records from which I have drawn the foregoing observations. Within each of the five sample periods, the borrowing records are arranged by book-title and in order of popularity: the most often-borrowed books appear

first (arranged alphabetically by author within each group of equals), and so on down to the increasingly numerous titles borrowed only once in each period. It has seemed necessary to the utility of these records to include all the data in this way, embarrassingly plentiful as it is. The plenty is partly caused by the separate recording of individual volumes in most of the multi-volume sets, but this too seemed desirable, and does indeed sometimes yield interesting suggestions about the selective use of common texts like Rollin's *Belles Lettres*, or about the actual appreciation of works like Brooke's Fool of Quality, whose later volumes fade into the rear pages or out of the record altogether.[8]

The computer programme (Microsoft *Access*) on which this information has been recorded allows it to be questioned and re-presented in a wide variety of forms. I have chosen below the form which seems to provide the most immediately lucid summary. That is, for each of the five groups I have listed the borrowed books (using short titles) in order of popularity, giving for each title a list of its borrowers and the dates on which they took the book out. As I have already hinted, it is impossible to be certain of the accuracy in detail of every record: apart from the possibility of mistakes in my own transcribing (of which I hope, but cannot insist, that there are none), omissions and obscurities in the original records, particularly for the later years, have occasionally made guessing necessary.[9] For instance, the computer programme requires a date for each borrowing, whether the librarian has inserted one or not (but the Christmas Day borrowings are, of course, not my invention). On the other hand, where a guess has not been strictly necessary in this way, I have not made it; therefore many titles whose authors might be hazarded only with reasonable probability have been left anonymous (using the abbreviation *n.a.*.). I believe,

[8] In a few cases of infrequently borrowed books, where the division of a title into volumes has no evident relevance to content, I have recorded the different volumes as one title and not distinguished between partial and complete borrowings. These exceptions are marked with an asterisk.

[9] Where possible, these uncertainties have been marked on disk, but they are not shown in the printed tables.

however, that these tables will provide not only thought-provoking information about one particular period of the University's history, but also an indication of the interest and utility of the records as a whole.

Students matriculating in 1748

Dodsley	*Preceptor vol.2*	
11/06/49	Shaw	James
01/12/49	Blair	Simon
15/01/50	Sutherland	John
07/02/50	Dunbar	Robert
03/09/50	Dunbar	Robert
15/11/51	Duff	Alexander
01/07/52	Simson	Robert
09/07/52	Simson	Patrick
	Number of times borrowed	8

Rollin	*Belles Lettres vol.1*	
04/12/49	Ramsay	John
03/02/50	Thomson	James
17/03/50	Duff	Alexander
11/04/50	Duncan	William
21/09/50	Dunbar	Robert
19/12/50	Thomson	James
18/03/51	Duff	Alexander
13/11/51	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	8

Rollin	*Belles Lettres vol.2*	
07/02/49	Blair	Simon
17/02/50	Ramsay	John
20/03/50	Thomson	James
19/04/50	Ramsay	John
15/05/50	Sutherland	John
25/12/50	Thomson	James
25/02/51	Duncan	William
18/10/51	Duff	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	8

Dodsley	*Preceptor vol.1*	
22/11/49	Shaw	James
06/03/50	Blair	Simon
31/03/50	Sutherland	John
14/05/50	Thomson	James
02/10/51	Dunbar	Robert
01/07/52	Simson	Robert
09/07/52	Simson	Patrick
	Number of times borrowed	7

Anson	*Voyage*	
15/05/50	Thomson	James
29/05/50	Dunbar	Robert
15/12/50	Simson	Patrick
29/01/51	Blair	Simon
27/03/51	Duncan	William
23/01/52	Shaw	James
	Number of times borrowed	6

Derham	*Astrotheology*	
19/04/50	Blair	Simon
19/04/51	Shaw	James
09/11/51	Ramsay	John
25/01/52	Duff	Alexander
05/03/52	Duncan	William
08/05/52	Simson	Patrick
	Number of times borrowed	6

Pluche	*Nature Display'd vol.2*	
11/05/49	Blair	Simon
16/02/50	Blair	Simon
06/06/50	Dunbar	Robert
05/04/51	Blair	Simon
18/11/51	Ramsay	John
17/12/51	Duff	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	6

Watts	*Improvement of the Mind*	
03/02/50	Thomson	James
11/05/50	Duff	Alexander
17/10/50	Ramsay	John
07/02/51	Thomson	James
23/03/51	Blair	Simon
02/10/51	Dunbar	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	6

Watts	*Logick*	
14/03/49	Blair	Simon
15/11/49	Shaw	James
28/03/50	Dunbar	Robert
21/05/50	Ramsay	John
15/10/50	Thomson	James
21/08/51	Dunbar	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	6

Hooke	*Roman History vol. 1*	
19/04/49	Blair	Simon
25/12/49	Ramsay	John
29/01/50	Dunbar	Robert
30/04/50	Duff	Alexander
20/11/51	Durham	James
	Number of times borrowed	5

Locke	*Essay on Human Understanding*	
31/05/49	Blair	Simon
25/07/50	Simson	Patrick
17/01/51	Shaw	James
30/05/52	Dunbar	Robert
09/07/52	Simson	Patrick
	Number of times borrowed	5

Students matriculating in 1748

Locke	*Works vol.1*	
24/04/50	Sutherland	John
16/01/51	Dunbar	Robert
29/03/51	Thomson	James
09/05/51	Thomson	James
25/10/51	Ramsay	John
	Number of times borrowed	5

Maclaurin	*Algebra*	
19/01/50	Blair	Simon
13/03/50	Sutherland	John
13/10/50	Dunbar	Robert
10/12/50	Shaw	James
18/10/51	Duff	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	5

Pluche	*Nature Display'd vol.3*	
05/01/50	Ramsay	John
04/07/50	Dunbar	Robert
08/05/51	Blair	Simon
13/12/51	Ramsay	John
25/01/52	Duff	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	5

Ray	*Wisdom of God in the Creation*	
29/01/50	Duncan	William
08/05/50	Blair	Simon
11/12/50	Ramsay	John
15/11/51	Duff	Alexander
31/12/51	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	5

Addison	*Works vol.1*	
29/01/50	Dunbar	Robert
13/03/50	Sutherland	John
08/11/50	Duff	Alexander
01/04/52	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	4

Clark	*Essay on Study*	
07/04/49	Blair	Simon
21/12/49	Sutherland	John
26/02/50	Ramsay	John
20/03/52	Dunbar	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	4

Derham	*Physicotheologie*	
25/05/49	Blair	Simon
17/02/50	Ramsay	John
18/10/51	Duff	Alexander
05/03/52	Duncan	William
	Number of times borrowed	4

Fordyce, David	*Dialogues concerning Education vol.2*	
19/03/50	Ramsay	John
26/04/50	Ramsay	John
29/11/50	Sutherland	John
11/03/52	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	4

Hooke	*Roman History vol.2*	
16/11/49	Blair	Simon
05/01/50	Ramsay	John
30/11/51	Dunbar	Robert
07/01/52	Durham	James
	Number of times borrowed	4

King	*Origin of Evil*	
16/10/50	Duff	Alexander
09/11/50	Sutherland	John
22/02/51	Ramsay	John
17/12/51	Duff	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	4

n.a.	*Universal History vol.2*	
23/12/48	Shaw	James
23/03/50	Ramsay	John
23/10/51	Blair	Simon
10/12/51	Duncan	William
	Number of times borrowed	4

Rollin	*Ancient History vol.6*	
21/02/49	Blair	Simon
12/07/49	Shaw	James
25/12/49	Dunbar	Robert
31/01/50	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	4

Rollin	*Belles Lettres vol.3*	
07/02/50	Sutherland	John
17/10/50	Ramsay	John
12/12/50	Duncan	William
18/03/51	Duff	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	4

Rollin	*Belles Lettres vol.4*	
15/01/50	Sutherland	John
03/12/50	Ramsay	John
09/01/51	Duncan	William
19/04/51	Duff	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	4

Shaftesbury	*Characteristicks vol.1*	
23/11/50	Sutherland	John
03/01/52	Dunbar	Robert
18/03/52	Ramsay	John
18/05/52	Shaw	James
	Number of times borrowed	4

Students matriculating in 1748

Simson, Robert	*Conick Sections*	
07/02/49	Blair	Simon
04/11/49	Blair	Simon
16/11/49	Blair	Simon
21/12/49	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	4

Terence	*Comedies, Lat. Eng. (ed. Patrick), vol.1*	
13/12/49	Blair	Simon
24/03/50	Ramsay	John
08/05/51	Blair	Simon
23/10/51	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	4

Watts	*Doctrine of the Passions*	
16/03/50	Blair	Simon
15/05/50	Sutherland	John
16/11/50	Dunbar	Robert
22/01/51	Ramsay	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

Addison	*Works vol.2*	
07/02/50	Blair	Simon
08/02/50	Sutherland	John
10/04/52	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	3

Bragge	*Regulation of the Passions*	
16/11/49	Blair	Simon
10/04/50	Duff	Alexander
21/11/50	Ramsay	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Caylus	*Oriental Tales vol.1*	
26/04/49	Blair	Simon
21/05/50	Ramsay	John
06/12/51	Dunbar	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	3

Fielding, S	*Adventures of David Simple vol.1*	
04/04/50	Ramsay	John
25/04/50	Thomson	James
05/11/51	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	3

Fielding, S	*Adventures of David Simple vol.2*	
04/04/50	Ramsay	John
25/04/50	Thomson	James
05/11/51	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	3

Fordyce, David	*Dialogues concerning Education vol.1*	
24/04/50	Sutherland	John
09/11/50	Sutherland	John
11/03/52	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	3

Hervey	*Meditations vol.1*	
04/04/51	Ramsay	John
17/06/52	Dunbar	Robert
15/07/52	Dunbar	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	3

Hervey	*Meditations vol.2*	
04/04/51	Ramsay	John
17/06/52	Dunbar	Robert
15/07/52	Dunbar	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	3

Hutcheson	*Passions and Affections*	
03/12/50	Ramsay	John
18/03/51	Duff	Alexander
18/11/51	Dunbar	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	3

Maclaurin	*Newton's Philosophy*	
09/08/49	Shaw	James
20/01/52	Blair	Simon
21/03/52	Sutherland	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Norris	*Immortality of the Soul*	
16/11/50	Dunbar	Robert
19/04/51	Duff	Alexander
29/01/52	Ramsay	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Pope	*Homer's Iliad vol.1*	
23/11/49	Ramsay	John
29/12/49	Sutherland	John
20/11/50	Thomson	James
	Number of times borrowed	3

Pope	*Homer's Iliad vol.2*	
23/11/49	Ramsay	John
29/12/49	Sutherland	John
20/11/50	Thomson	James
	Number of times borrowed	3

Pope	*Homer's Odyssey vol.1*	
18/10/48	Shaw	James
13/12/49	Blair	Simon
13/11/50	Duncan	William
	Number of times borrowed	3

Puffendorf	*Introduction to the History of Europe*	
18/04/50	Sutherland	John
30/04/50	Blair	Simon
21/05/50	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	3

Rapin	*History of England vol.1*	
29/09/49	Shaw	James
16/11/50	Dunbar	Robert
26/10/51	Duncan	William
	Number of times borrowed	3

Students matriculating in 1748

Rapin		*History of England vol.10*	
08/01/50	Durham	James	
02/09/51	Shaw	James	
20/12/51	Durham	James	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Rapin		*History of England vol.11*	
23/04/50	Durham	James	
02/09/51	Shaw	James	
06/12/51	Durham	James	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Rapin		*History of England vol.12*	
11/05/50	Durham	James	
06/09/51	Shaw	James	
06/12/51	Durham	James	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Rollin		*Ancient History vol.2*	
04/11/49	Blair	Simon	
17/01/50	Duncan	William	
11/05/50	Duff	Alexander	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Rollin		*Ancient History vol.3*	
21/12/49	Sutherland	John	
09/01/50	Blair	Simon	
23/10/50	Duncan	William	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Rollin		*Ancient History vol.7*	
15/01/50	Dunbar	Robert	
16/02/50	Blair	Simon	
09/01/51	Duncan	William	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Rollin		*Ancient History vol.8*	
22/03/49	Blair	Simon	
11/04/50	Duncan	William	
19/04/51	Duff	Alexander	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Rollin		*Roman History vol.3*	
17/01/50	Duncan	William	
26/11/50	Simson	Patrick	
26/02/51	Simson	Patrick	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Rollin		*Roman History vol.4*	
18/10/48	Shaw	James	
28/02/50	Duncan	William	
26/02/51	Simson	Patrick	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Sallust		*Works (trans. Gordon)*	
27/02/49	Blair	Simon	
15/03/50	Thomson	James	
14/10/51	Duncan	William	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Smollett		*Roderick Random vol.1*	
05/11/50	Thomson	James	
23/11/50	Sutherland	John	
19/03/51	Dunbar	Robert	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Smollett		*Roderick Random vol.2*	
05/11/50	Thomson	James	
23/11/50	Sutherland	John	
19/03/51	Dunbar	Robert	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Xenophon		*Opera, Gr. Lat.**	
05/12/49	Blair	Simon	
08/01/50	Dunbar	Robert	
16/10/50	Duff	Alexander	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Addison		*Spectator vol.1*	
23/10/49	Blair	Simon	
18/03/51	Duff	Alexander	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Addison		*Spectator vol.4*	
11/12/50	Duff	Alexander	
26/10/51	Duncan	William	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Browne		*Procedure of Human Understanding*	
07/04/50	Thomson	James	
09/11/50	Sutherland	John	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Caylus		*Oriental Tales vol.2*	
21/05/50	Ramsay	John	
06/12/51	Dunbar	Robert	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Cudworth		*Intellectual System*	
20/11/50	Blair	Simon	
20/01/52	Blair	Simon	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Defoe		*Robinson Crusoe vol.1*	
29/04/49	Blair	Simon	
28/03/50	Dunbar	Robert	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Ellis		*Voyage to Hudson's Bay*	
14/03/50	Ramsay	John	
26/04/50	Thomson	James	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Fielding		*Tom Jones vol.1*	
23/01/51	Thomson	James	
07/02/51	Blair	Simon	
		Number of times borrowed	2

Students matriculating in 1748

Fielding	*Tom Jones vol.2*		
23/01/51	Thomson	James	
07/02/51	Blair	Simon	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Fielding	*Tom Jones vol.4*		
12/02/51	Blair	Simon	
25/02/51	Thomson	James	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Gavin	*Master-key to Popery vol.1*		
11/06/50	Shaw	James	
29/10/50	Dunbar	Robert	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Gibbs	*Architecture*		
09/02/51	Thomson	James	
06/04/51	Duncan	William	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Haywood	*Female Spectator vol.1*		
21/10/49	Shaw	James	
03/08/50	Dunbar	Robert	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Hibernicus	*Letters vol.1*		
05/11/50	Thomson	James	
16/02/51	Ramsay	John	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Homer	*Iliad, Gk. Lat. (ed. Clark), vol.1*		
22/12/50	Duff	Alexander	
25/01/52	Duff	Alexander	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Horace	*Odes, etc., Lat. Eng. (ed. Watson), vol.1*		
21/12/49	Sutherland	John	
09/05/51	Thomson	James	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Horace	*Odes, etc., Lat. Eng. (ed. Watson), vol.2*		
03/08/50	Dunbar	Robert	
21/12/50	Thomson	James	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Hutcheson	*Beauty and Virtue*		
22/12/50	Duff	Alexander	
11/03/52	Ramsay	John	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Keil	*Astronomy*		
16/03/50	Blair	Simon	
05/05/50	Blair	Simon	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Locke	*Thoughts concerning Education*		
15/01/50	Sutherland	John	
16/04/50	Ramsay	John	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Middleton	*Life of Cicero vol.1*		
23/11/49	Ramsay	John	
25/12/49	Dunbar	Robert	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Middleton	*Life of Cicero vol.2*		
07/12/49	Ramsay	John	
15/01/50	Dunbar	Robert	
	Number of times borrowed		2
n.a.	*Pamphlets vol.13*		
27/05/49	Blair	Simon	
14/03/50	Ramsay	John	
	Number of times borrowed		2
n.a.	*Pamphlets vol.3*		
19/05/49	Blair	Simon	
01/04/52	Blair	Simon	
	Number of times borrowed		2
n.a.	*Pamphlets vol.6*		
21/11/50	Ramsay	John	
17/04/52	Blair	Simon	
	Number of times borrowed		2
n.a.	*Universal History vol.1*		
13/03/50	Dunbar	Robert	
23/10/51	Blair	Simon	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Pluche	*Nature Display'd vol.1*		
30/04/50	Blair	Simon	
06/06/50	Dunbar	Robert	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Pope	*Homer's Iliad vol.3*		
16/03/49	Blair	Simon	
24/12/50	Thomson	James	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Pope	*Homer's Iliad vol.4*		
16/03/49	Blair	Simon	
24/12/50	Thomson	James	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Pope	*Homer's Iliad vol.5*		
27/02/49	Blair	Simon	
26/12/50	Thomson	James	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Pope	*Homer's Iliad vol.6*		
14/03/49	Blair	Simon	
26/12/50	Thomson	James	
	Number of times borrowed		2

Students matriculating in 1748

Pope — *Letters vol.1*

15/05/50	Sutherland	John
27/02/51	Blair	Simon

Number of times borrowed 2

Ramsay, Andrew — *Travels of Cyrus vol.1*

22/01/51	Ramsay	John
06/04/52	Duncan	William

Number of times borrowed 2

Ramsay, Andrew — *Travels of Cyrus vol.2*

22/01/51	Ramsay	John
06/04/52	Duncan	William

Number of times borrowed 2

Rapin — *History of England vol.2*

14/10/49	Shaw	James
09/01/51	Dunbar	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Rapin — *History of England vol.3*

14/10/49	Shaw	James
20/04/51	Dunbar	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Rapin — *History of England vol.4*

20/04/51	Dunbar	Robert
14/10/51	Duncan	William

Number of times borrowed 2

Richardson — *Pamela vol.3*

17/08/49	Shaw	James
20/04/51	Dunbar	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Richardson — *Pamela vol.4*

17/08/49	Shaw	James
20/04/51	Dunbar	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Rollin — *Ancient History vol.1*

03/01/50	Duncan	William
11/05/50	Duff	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Rollin — *Ancient History vol.4*

12/07/49	Shaw	James
01/12/49	Blair	Simon

Number of times borrowed 2

Rollin — *Roman History vol.2*

05/12/49	Dunbar	Robert
29/01/51	Simson	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Rollin — *Roman History vol.5*

11/04/50	Duncan	William
12/03/51	Simson	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Sallust — *Works (trans. Cooke)*

21/02/49	Blair	Simon
06/03/50	Blair	Simon

Number of times borrowed 2

Shaftesbury — *Characteristicks vol.2*

08/02/52	Dunbar	Robert
18/05/52	Shaw	James

Number of times borrowed 2

Shaftesbury — *Characteristicks vol.3*

03/01/52	Dunbar	Robert
18/03/52	Ramsay	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Swift — *Gulliver's Travels vol.1*

01/06/50	Thomson	James
21/09/50	Dunbar	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Swift — *Gulliver's Travels vol.2*

01/06/50	Thomson	James
08/10/50	Dunbar	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Thomson — *Works vol.1*

27/03/50	Thomson	James
21/05/50	Blair	Simon

Number of times borrowed 2

Thucydides — *De Bello Peloponnesiaco, Lat.*

17/03/50	Duff	Alexander
22/12/50	Duff	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Ulacque — *Tables*

28/03/49	Blair	Simon
01/12/49	Blair	Simon

Number of times borrowed 2

Varenius — *Geography vol.1*

19/10/50	Sutherland	John
09/04/51	Blair	Simon

Number of times borrowed 2

Varenius — *Geography vol.2*

19/10/50	Sutherland	John
09/04/51	Blair	Simon

Number of times borrowed 2

Virgil — *Georgics, Lat. Eng. (ed. Martyn)*

12/02/51	Thomson	James
23/03/51	Blair	Simon

Number of times borrowed 2

Wolf — *Ontologia*

19/10/50	Sutherland	John
12/12/50	Duncan	William

Number of times borrowed 2

Students matriculating in 1748

Xenophon — *Anabasis, Gr. Lat.*

01/06/52	Dunbar	Robert
09/07/52	Dunbar	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	2

Xenophon — *Cyropaedia*

20/06/49	Shaw	James
03/07/51	Dunbar	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	2

Young, Edward — *Night Thoughts*

27/05/49	Blair	Simon
28/03/51	Ramsay	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Abercrombie — *Scots History vol.1*

14/02/52	Ramsay	John
	Number of times borrowed	1

Abercrombie — *Scots Worthies vol.1*

19/05/49	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	1

Addison — *Spectator vol.2*

23/10/49	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	1

Addison — *Spectator vol.3*

14/10/51	Duncan	William
	Number of times borrowed	1

Addison — *Spectator vol.5*

11/12/50	Duff	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	1

Addison — *Spectator vol.6*

13/11/51	Duncan	William
	Number of times borrowed	1

Addison — *Works vol.3*

20/04/52	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	1

Bacon — *Works vol.1*

28/11/51	Shaw	James
	Number of times borrowed	1

Baxter — *Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul vol.1*

24/01/51	Duff	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	1

Baxter — *Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul vol.2*

24/01/51	Duff	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	1

Baxter — *Immateriality of the Soul vol.1*

23/10/51	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	1

Baxter — *Immateriality of the Soul vol.2*

23/10/51	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	1

Blackwell — *Life of Homer*

23/10/50	Duncan	William
	Number of times borrowed	1

Blackwell — *Mythology*

29/09/49	Shaw	James
	Number of times borrowed	1

Blome — *Geography*

16/03/52	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	1

Boyle — *Lectures (abridged) vol.1*

25/11/51	Duncan	William
	Number of times borrowed	1

Boyle — *Lectures (abridged) vol.2*

10/12/51	Duncan	William
	Number of times borrowed	1

Boyle — *Lectures (abridged) vol.4*

21/01/52	Duncan	William
	Number of times borrowed	1

Bradly — *Gardening and Planting*

08/12/49	Durham	James
	Number of times borrowed	1

Bradly — *Husbandry and Gardening*

15/12/49	Durham	James
	Number of times borrowed	1

Bunyan — *Pilgrim's Progress*

09/05/49	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	1

Burnet — *History of the Reformation vol.1*

13/11/50	Duncan	William
	Number of times borrowed	1

Burnet — *History of the Reformation vol.2*

12/12/50	Duncan	William
	Number of times borrowed	1

Campbell, R. — *London Tradesman*

16/03/50	Blair	Simon
	Number of times borrowed	1

Chaucer — *Works*

20/11/49	Durham	James
	Number of times borrowed	1

Students matriculating in 1748

Cicero *De Oratore*
08/11/50 Duff Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Cicero *Opera vol.2*
04/07/50 Dunbar Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Cotte *Hydrostatical Lectures*
27/10/50 Durham James
Number of times borrowed 1

Coustos *Sufferings in the Inquisition*
23/11/49 Ramsay John
Number of times borrowed 1

Crusar *Logick*
29/11/50 Sutherland John
Number of times borrowed 1

De Vries *Exercitationes Rationales*
10/04/50 Duff Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Defoe *Robinson Crusoe vol.2*
14/04/50 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Defoe *Robinson Crusoe vol.3*
20/04/50 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Desaguiliers *Experimental Philosophy vol.1*
21/03/52 Sutherland John
Number of times borrowed 1

Desaguiliers *Natural Philosophy vol.1*
31/12/51 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Dodwell *Immortality of the Soul*
28/03/52 Dunbar Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Du Halde *History of China vol.1*
05/03/52 Duncan William
Number of times borrowed 1

Dumal *Civil Law vol.1*
28/03/51 Durham James
Number of times borrowed 1

Dumal *Civil Law vol.2*
28/03/51 Durham James
Number of times borrowed 1

Echard *History of England vol.1*
13/11/51 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Echard *Roman History vol.1*
19/12/49 Durham James
Number of times borrowed 1

Epictetus *Enchiridion, Gr. Lat., vol.1*
15/11/51 Duff Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Epictetus *Enchiridion, Gr. Lat., vol.2*
15/11/51 Duff Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Eutropius *Works (ed. Clark)*
11/05/49 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Fénelon *Aventures de Telemaque*
18/12/49 Dunbar Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Fielding *Joseph Andrews vol.1*
23/02/51 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Fielding *Joseph Andrews vol.2*
23/02/51 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Fielding *Miscellanies vol.1*
04/12/51 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Fielding *Miscellanies vol.3*
15/12/49 Durham James
Number of times borrowed 1

Fielding *Tom Jones vol.3*
25/02/51 Thomson James
Number of times borrowed 1

Fielding *Tom Jones vol.5*
12/02/51 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Fitzosborne *Letters vol.2*
09/07/52 Simson Patrick
Number of times borrowed 1

Florus *Works (ed. Clark)*
29/12/49 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Galileo *Systema Cosmicum*
27/04/50 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Gavin *Master-key to Popery vol.2*
11/06/50 Shaw James
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1748

Gavin *Master-key to Popery vol.3*
11/06/50 Shaw James
Number of times borrowed 1

Gay *Fables vol.1*
01/04/49 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Gay *Fables vol.2*
18/05/50 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Gibb *Short-writing*
13/11/50 Duncan William
Number of times borrowed 1

Granger *Essay on Writing*
16/10/50 Durham James
Number of times borrowed 1

Gregorie *Astronomia*
06/04/52 Duncan William
Number of times borrowed 1

Hale *Philosophical Experiments*
27/10/50 Durham James
Number of times borrowed 1

Halfpenny *Art of Sound Building*
30/04/50 Sutherland John
Number of times borrowed 1

Haywood *Female Spectator vol.2*
22/10/50 Dunbar Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Haywood *Female Spectator vol.4*
31/07/49 Shaw James
Number of times borrowed 1

Haywood *Fortunate Foundlings*
18/09/49 Shaw James
Number of times borrowed 1

Herodotus *History, Gr. Lat.*
11/06/50 Shaw James
Number of times borrowed 1

Herodotus *Opera, Gr. Lat.*
13/03/50 Sutherland John
Number of times borrowed 1

Heylin *Theological Lectures*
21/01/52 Duncan William
Number of times borrowed 1

Hibernicus *Letters vol.2*
05/11/50 Thomson James
Number of times borrowed 1

Horace *Works (ed. Cruquius)*
17/12/51 Duff Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Hugenius *Systema Saturnum*
27/04/50 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Hutcheson *Ethicks*
20/07/52 Dunbar Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Hutcheson *Ethicks*
21/08/51 Dunbar Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Justinian *Works (ed. Clark)*
07/02/49 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Kirby *Extent of the Human Understanding*
29/01/52 Ramsay John
Number of times borrowed 1

Lardner *Gospel History vol.1*
21/01/52 Duncan William
Number of times borrowed 1

Lawrence *Surveyor's Guide*
30/03/52 Sutherland John
Number of times borrowed 1

Le Muet *Art of Building*
18/05/50 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Locke *Works vol.2*
31/03/50 Sutherland John
Number of times borrowed 1

Mair *Book-keeping*
23/03/51 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Maupertuis *Figure of the Earth*
14/04/50 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Mede, Dr Joseph *Works*
25/10/49 Shaw James
Number of times borrowed 1

Middleton *Introductory Discourse*
10/10/49 Shaw James
Number of times borrowed 1

Miller *Gardening vol.2*
16/11/50 Durham James
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1748

Molesworth — *Account of Denmark*
03/02/50 Thomson James
Number of times borrowed 1

Molière — *Plays vol.1*
28/10/48 Shaw James
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Biblia Graeca Septuagint*
17/01/50 Duncan William
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Jewish Ceremonies*
20/11/50 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Lives of Luther and Calvin*
27/03/51 Duncan William
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Musical Miscellanies vol.1*
08/12/49 Durham James
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Musical Miscellanies vol.2*
08/12/49 Durham James
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Musical Miscellanies vol.3*
08/12/49 Durham James
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Pamphlets vol.15*
25/01/52 Shaw James
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Pamphlets vol.16*
20/03/50 Durham James
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Pamphlets vol.36*
31/12/51 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Pamphlets vol.38*
08/01/52 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Pamphlets vol.4*
10/04/52 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Pamphlets vol.8*
20/04/52 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Philosophical Transactions (abridged) vol.1*
13/02/51 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Philosophical Transactions (abridged) vol.3*
09/04/51 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Philosophical Transactions vol.8*
05/04/51 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Plays vol.1 (or unspecified)*
04/12/51 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Plays vol.2*
04/12/51 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Universal History vol.3*
13/11/51 Duncan William
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Universal History vol.4*
25/11/51 Duncan William
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. — *Voyage to the World of Cartes*
17/11/50 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Newman — *Concordance*
25/07/50 Simson Patrick
Number of times borrowed 1

Nieuwentyt — *Religious Philosopher vol.1*
18/11/51 Ramsay John
Number of times borrowed 1

Nieuwentyt — *Religious Philosopher vol.2*
18/11/51 Ramsay John
Number of times borrowed 1

Nieuwentyt — *Religious Philosopher vol.3*
28/12/51 Ramsay John
Number of times borrowed 1

Ovid — *Metamorphoses, Lat. Eng. (ed. Clark)*
30/03/51 Dunbar Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Ozanam — *Tables*
30/04/50 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Parsons and Wastel — *Arithmetick and Algebra*
21/02/49 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1748

Pemberton *View of Newton's Philosophy*
16/03/52 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Plato *Opera, Lat.*
08/11/50 Duff Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Pliny *Letters (trans. Melmoth) vol.1*
21/11/50 Ramsay John
Number of times borrowed 1

Pope *Dunciad Variorum*
22/04/49 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Pope *Miscellanies*
18/03/52 Dunbar Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Pope *Prose Works vol. 2*
04/05/49 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Puffendorf *Law of Nature*
14/08/51 Shaw James
Number of times borrowed 1

Quintilian *De Institutione Oratoria*
16/10/50 Duff Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.13*
06/09/51 Shaw James
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.14*
06/09/51 Shaw James
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.15*
06/09/51 Shaw James
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.7*
25/07/50 Simson Patrick
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.8*
14/08/51 Shaw James
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.9*
14/08/51 Shaw James
Number of times borrowed 1

Richardson *Pamela vol.1*
05/11/51 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Richardson *Pamela vol.2*
05/11/51 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Ancient History vol.11*
09/02/51 Dunbar Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Ancient History vol.12*
01/11/50 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Ancient History vol.13*
01/11/50 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Ancient History vol.5*
28/02/50 Duncan William
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Ancient History vol.9*
19/04/51 Duff Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Roman History vol.10*
12/04/51 Simson Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Roman History vol.6*
12/03/51 Simson Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Roman History vol.7*
23/03/51 Simson Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Roman History vol.8*
23/03/51 Simson Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Roman History vol.9*
12/04/51 Simson Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Rudd *Essay*
29/01/51 Duncan William
Number of times borrowed 1

Rutherforth *Natural Philosophy vol.1*
13/11/51 Duncan William
Number of times borrowed 1

Sallust *Works, Lat. Eng. (ed. Clark)*
06/06/50 Dunbar Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Shuckford *Connection vol.1*
09/01/51 Duncan William
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1748

Shuckford *Connection vol.2*
29/01/51 Duncan William
Number of times borrowed 1

Shuckford *Connection vol.3*
21/02/51 Duncan William
Number of times borrowed 1

Sidney *Arcadia*
07/06/51 Dunbar Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Steele *Guardian vol.2*
29/12/49 Sutherland John
Number of times borrowed 1

Suetonius *Twelve Caesars, Lat. Eng. (ed. Clark)*
23/10/49 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Swift *Miscellanies vol.1*
25/10/51 Ramsay John
Number of times borrowed 1

Swift *Miscellanies vol.2*
25/10/51 Ramsay John
Number of times borrowed 1

Swift *Miscellanies vol.3*
09/11/51 Ramsay John
Number of times borrowed 1

Swift *Miscellanies vol.4*
09/11/51 Ramsay John
Number of times borrowed 1

Swift *Works vol.1*
10/04/50 Thomson James
Number of times borrowed 1

Swift *Works vol.2*
21/04/50 Thomson James
Number of times borrowed 1

Swift *Works vol.4*
25/04/50 Thomson James
Number of times borrowed 1

Swift *Works vol.5*
21/05/50 Thomson James
Number of times borrowed 1

Tacitus *Scoti*
20/12/51 Durham James
Number of times borrowed 1

Terence *Comedies, Lat. Eng.(ed. Patrick), vol.2*
20/04/50 Ramsay John
Number of times borrowed 1

Thomson *Works vol.2*
04/04/50 Thomson James
Number of times borrowed 1

Tillotson *Sermons vol.1*
22/01/51 Durham James
Number of times borrowed 1

Tindal *Turkish History*
21/04/50 Blair Simon
Number of times borrowed 1

Wallis *Algebra*
01/11/51 Dunbar Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Wallis *Works vol.2*
15/11/50 Shaw James
Number of times borrowed 1

Wolf *Psychologia Rationalis*
29/11/50 Sutherland John
Number of times borrowed 1

Woodward *Natural History*
23/12/51 Ramsay John
Number of times borrowed 1

Xenophon *Memorable Things of Socrates*
15/03/51 Thomson James
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1753

Anson	*Voyage*	
18/03/54	Scott	Robert
01/04/54	Bethune	John
25/04/54	Wilkie	Thomas
01/05/54	Ross	William
13/12/54	Maxwell	Wiliam
03/11/55	M'Nicol	Donald
07/11/55	Bethune	John
10/11/55	Glass	Thomas
11/11/56	Hallyburton	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	9

Nettleton	*Virtue and Happiness*	
15/03/55	Hallyburton	Thomas
03/11/55	Keay	William
10/11/55	Glass	Thomas
20/12/55	Stewart	James
04/03/56	Mackenzie	William
11/05/56	Low	John
11/11/56	Keay	William
01/02/57	Ross	William
	Number of times borrowed	8

Pluche	*Nature Display'd vol.1*	
11/04/54	Wilkie	Thomas
14/11/54	M'Nicol	Donald
03/12/55	Low	John
23/12/55	Stewart	John
08/01/56	Bethune	John
21/01/56	Watson	Peter
03/04/56	Hallyburton	Thomas
14/04/56	Fitchet	John
	Number of times borrowed	8

Rollin	*Ancient History vol.3*	
14/02/54	Bethune	John
20/11/54	Ross	William
02/12/54	Scott	Robert
19/12/54	M'Nicol	Donald
04/01/55	Stewart	John
25/01/55	Hallyburton	Thomas
10/01/56	Maxwell	Wiliam
17/04/56	Mackenzie	William
	Number of times borrowed	8

Rollin	*Ancient History vol.4*	
28/03/54	Bethune	John
22/11/54	Scott	Robert
06/12/54	Hallyburton	Thomas
14/12/54	Ross	William
23/12/54	Scott	Robert
31/01/55	Hallyburton	Thomas
04/02/55	Stewart	John
18/03/56	Mackenzie	William
	Number of times borrowed	8

Rollin	*Belles Lettres vol.1*	
10/01/54	Scott	Robert
01/02/54	Wilkie	Thomas
16/04/54	M'Nicol	Donald
25/12/54	Glass	Thomas
09/01/55	Low	John
22/01/55	Mackenzie	William
02/04/55	Bethune	John
28/10/55	Glass	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	8

Watts	*Improvement of the Mind*	
04/11/54	Keay	William
13/11/54	M'Nicol	Donald
23/11/54	Simson	James
22/02/55	Hallyburton	Thomas
07/05/55	Keay	William
28/10/55	Glass	Thomas
19/11/55	Bethune	John
03/03/56	Stewart	John
	Number of times borrowed	8

n.a.	*Universal History vol.1*	
04/11/54	Wilkie	Thomas
13/01/55	Bethune	John
12/03/55	Stewart	John
17/11/55	Stewart	James
31/12/55	Glass	Thomas
07/01/56	M'Nicol	Donald
27/12/56	M'Nicol	Donald
	Number of times borrowed	7

Pluche	*Nature Display'd vol.2*	
19/04/54	Wilkie	Thomas
31/10/54	M'Nicol	Donald
17/12/55	Glass	Thomas
23/12/55	Low	John
14/01/56	Bethune	John
03/04/56	Hallyburton	Thomas
14/04/56	Fitchet	John
	Number of times borrowed	7

Pope	*Miscellanies*	
17/04/54	Wilkie	Thomas
02/01/55	Maxwell	Wiliam
08/12/55	Hallyburton	Thomas
20/12/55	Ross	William
28/04/56	Mackenzie	William
12/01/57	Fitchet	John
15/02/57	Keay	William
	Number of times borrowed	7

Students matriculating in 1753

Rollin — *Ancient History vol.1*

01/11/54	Scott	Robert
07/12/54	Ross	William
14/12/54	M'Nicol	Donald
20/12/54	Stewart	John
19/12/55	Maxwell	Wiliam
28/01/56	Mackenzie	William
27/02/56	Mackenzie	William
	Number of times borrowed	7

Rollin — *Belles Lettres vol.2*

15/01/54	Scott	Robert
12/02/54	Wilkie	Thomas
19/04/54	M'Nicol	Donald
22/01/55	Low	John
22/02/55	Mackenzie	William
06/05/55	Glass	Thomas
28/10/55	Glass	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	7

Keil — *Astronomy*

12/03/55	Wilkie	Thomas
28/04/55	Wilkie	Thomas
11/02/56	Glass	Thomas
24/03/56	Mackenzie	William
06/04/56	Glass	Thomas
16/03/57	Fitchet	John
	Number of times borrowed	6

Pluche — *Nature Display'd vol.3*

03/05/54	Wilkie	Thomas
31/10/54	M'Nicol	Donald
20/12/55	Glass	Thomas
08/01/56	Watson	Peter
21/01/56	Bethune	John
10/04/56	Keay	William
	Number of times borrowed	6

Rapin — *History of England vol.3*

23/11/54	Simson	James
08/02/55	Watson	Peter
06/03/55	Stewart	James
04/04/55	Low	John
04/09/55	Masson	William
12/11/55	Stewart	John
	Number of times borrowed	6

Rollin — *Ancient History vol.2*

23/11/54	Scott	Robert
02/12/54	Ross	William
30/12/54	Stewart	John
18/01/55	Hallyburton	Thomas
24/12/55	Maxwell	Wiliam
28/01/56	Mackenzie	William
	Number of times borrowed	6

Rollin — *Ancient History vol.5*

12/12/54	Hallyburton	Thomas
23/12/54	Ross	William
10/01/55	Scott	Robert
04/02/55	M'Nicol	Donald
06/01/56	Maxwell	Wiliam
01/04/56	Mackenzie	William
	Number of times borrowed	6

Rollin — *Belles Lettres vol.3*

19/01/54	Scott	Robert
27/03/54	Wilkie	Thomas
24/04/54	M'Nicol	Donald
22/01/55	Low	John
27/03/55	Mackenzie	William
06/05/55	Glass	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	6

Rollin — *Belles Lettres vol.4*

26/01/54	Scott	Robert
01/04/54	Wilkie	Thomas
29/04/54	M'Nicol	Donald
09/01/55	Glass	Thomas
22/01/55	Stewart	James
27/03/55	Mackenzie	William
	Number of times borrowed	6

Suetonius — *Twelve Caesars, Lat. Eng. (ed. Clark)*

16/03/54	Maxwell	Wiliam
23/10/54	Glass	Thomas
12/12/54	Mackenzie	William
03/01/55	Glass	Thomas
01/02/55	Mackenzie	William
14/02/55	Glass	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	6

Virgil — *Georgics, Lat. Eng. (ed. Martyn)*

20/11/54	Low	John
04/12/54	M'Nicol	Donald
22/01/55	Glass	Thomas
05/02/55	Fitchet	John
25/02/56	Mackenzie	William
24/03/56	Ross	William
	Number of times borrowed	6

Watts — *Doctrine of the Passions*

23/04/54	Scott	Robert
29/11/54	M'Nicol	Donald
06/12/54	Low	John
19/11/55	Wilkie	Thomas
28/11/55	Stewart	James
20/11/56	Glass	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	6

Students matriculating in 1753

Watts	*Logick*	
21/11/54	Stewart	James
04/12/54	Fitchet	John
15/02/55	Hallyburton	Thomas
01/04/55	Ross	William
14/05/55	Scott	Robert
03/02/56	Fitchet	John
	Number of times borrowed	6

Duff, William	*History of Scotland**	
17/04/54	Hallyburton	Thomas
23/10/54	Glass	Thomas
14/01/55	Stewart	John
14/01/56	Ross	William
09/11/56	Fitchet	John
	Number of times borrowed	5

Hooke	*Roman History vol. 1*	
18/12/54	M'Nicol	Donald
23/12/54	Masson	William
30/10/55	Hallyburton	Thomas
07/02/56	Maxwell	Wiliam
07/12/56	Ross	William
	Number of times borrowed	5

Hooke	*Roman History vol.2*	
09/01/55	M'Nicol	Donald
22/01/55	Masson	William
12/04/56	Maxwell	Wiliam
28/10/56	Hallyburton	Thomas
17/12/56	Ross	William
	Number of times borrowed	5

Hutcheson	*Passions and Affections*	
12/11/55	Keay	William
02/02/56	Mackenzie	William
13/02/56	Watson	Peter
06/04/56	Low	John
24/12/56	Keay	William
	Number of times borrowed	5

Maclaurin	*Algebra*	
08/02/55	Low	John
28/02/55	Mackenzie	William
14/04/55	Mackenzie	William
19/11/55	Low	John
27/11/56	Ross	William
	Number of times borrowed	5

Pope	*Essays on Man & on Criticism*	
12/11/54	Maxwell	Wiliam
27/12/54	Wilkie	Thomas
15/04/55	Low	John
09/05/55	Mackenzie	William
20/05/55	Fitchet	John
	Number of times borrowed	5

Pope	*Homer's Iliad vol.5*	
29/04/54	Scott	Robert
09/05/54	Wilkie	Thomas
10/01/55	Hallyburton	Thomas
10/01/56	Fitchet	John
23/04/56	Ross	William
	Number of times borrowed	5

Rapin	*History of England vol.2*	
26/09/54	Simson	James
23/12/54	Bethune	John
10/01/55	Watson	Peter
08/02/55	Low	John
04/06/55	Masson	William
	Number of times borrowed	5

Rapin	*History of England vol.6*	
27/11/54	Keay	William
09/12/54	Bethune	John
15/02/55	Watson	Peter
15/03/55	Stewart	James
29/09/55	Masson	William
	Number of times borrowed	5

Rapin	*History of England vol.7*	
05/12/54	Bethune	John
25/12/54	Keay	William
30/01/55	Stewart	James
22/02/55	Watson	Peter
29/09/55	Masson	William
	Number of times borrowed	5

Rapin	*History of England vol.8*	
16/12/54	Bethune	John
11/01/55	Keay	William
20/02/55	Stewart	James
03/10/55	Simson	James
26/11/55	Stewart	John
	Number of times borrowed	5

Rollin	*Ancient History vol.7*	
24/04/54	Bethune	John
08/01/55	Hallyburton	Thomas
22/01/55	Ross	William
08/02/55	Scott	Robert
28/10/55	M'Nicol	Donald
	Number of times borrowed	5

Rollin	*Ancient History vol.8*	
07/05/54	Bethune	John
10/12/54	Stewart	John
11/02/55	Ross	William
19/02/55	Scott	Robert
03/11/55	M'Nicol	Donald
	Number of times borrowed	5

Students matriculating in 1753

Rowe	*Works vol.1*	
29/03/54	Wilkie	Thomas
22/03/55	Keay	William
25/11/55	Hallyburton	Thomas
30/01/56	Bethune	John
06/04/56	Glass	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	5

Rowe	*Works vol.2*	
06/04/54	Wilkie	Thomas
22/03/55	Keay	William
02/12/55	Hallyburton	Thomas
30/01/56	Bethune	John
06/04/56	Glass	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	5

Sallust	*Works (trans. Gordon)*	
10/01/54	Scott	Robert
01/02/54	Bethune	John
25/03/55	Hallyburton	Thomas
25/04/55	Keay	William
04/11/55	Ross	William
	Number of times borrowed	5

Addison	*Spectator vol.2*	
23/11/54	Glass	Thomas
07/12/54	Watson	Peter
07/11/55	Low	John
18/12/55	Mackenzie	William
	Number of times borrowed	4

Addison	*Spectator vol.5*	
14/11/54	Watson	Peter
07/12/54	Glass	Thomas
27/11/55	Mackenzie	William
10/04/56	Watson	Peter
	Number of times borrowed	4

Addison	*Works vol.3*	
15/03/55	Bethune	John
31/01/57	Wilkie	Thomas
09/02/57	Ross	William
16/04/57	Wilkie	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	4

Baxter	*Immateriality of the Soul vol.1*	
25/12/54	Simson	James
28/01/56	M'Nicol	Donald
18/12/56	Mackenzie	William
25/01/57	Fitchet	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

Clark	*Attributes of God*	
26/11/55	Wilkie	Thomas
12/12/55	Low	John
29/01/56	Wilkie	Thomas
27/03/56	Low	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

Hutcheson	*Beauty and Virtue*	
19/12/55	Wilkie	Thomas
29/01/56	Maxwell	Wiliam
20/03/56	Stewart	James
29/04/56	M'Nicol	Donald
	Number of times borrowed	4

Livy	*Historiae*	
30/11/54	Watson	Peter
08/01/55	Scott	Robert
10/12/55	Watson	Peter
23/11/56	Fitchet	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

Locke	*Essay on Human Understanding*	
17/02/55	Fitchet	John
26/03/55	Watson	Peter
23/05/55	Low	John
25/02/56	Keay	William
	Number of times borrowed	4

Locke	*Works vol.1*	
10/03/55	Wilkie	Thomas
15/05/55	Wilkie	Thomas
15/11/55	Hallyburton	Thomas
06/12/55	Bethune	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

Parnell	*Poems*	
03/05/54	Bethune	John
01/05/55	M'Nicol	Donald
10/05/55	Scott	Robert
20/05/55	Low	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

Pope	*Works vol.3*	
07/05/54	Wilkie	Thomas
09/12/54	M'Nicol	Donald
16/12/55	Ross	William
20/12/55	M'Nicol	Donald
	Number of times borrowed	4

Rapin	*History of England vol.1*	
16/11/54	Keay	William
20/02/55	Stewart	James
11/03/55	Low	John
04/08/55	Masson	William
	Number of times borrowed	4

Rapin	*History of England vol.5*	
25/11/54	Bethune	John
07/12/54	Keay	William
01/02/55	Watson	Peter
04/12/55	Stewart	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

Students matriculating in 1753

Ray	*Wisdom of God in the Creation*	
06/12/55	Low	John
17/01/56	Keay	William
13/03/56	M'Nicol	Donald
28/04/56	Fitchet	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

Rollin	*Ancient History vol.9*	
07/05/54	Bethune	John
16/12/54	Stewart	John
17/02/55	Ross	William
14/11/55	M'Nicol	Donald
	Number of times borrowed	4

Rollin	*Roman History vol.5*	
17/03/55	Glass	Thomas
25/04/55	Maxwell	Wiliam
24/12/55	Fitchet	John
17/03/56	Bethune	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

Rollin	*Roman History vol.6*	
17/03/55	Glass	Thomas
30/04/55	Maxwell	Wiliam
24/12/55	Fitchet	John
17/03/56	Bethune	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

Terence	*Comedies, Lat. Eng. (ed. Patrick), vol.1*	
05/04/54	Hallyburton	Thomas
08/04/55	Keay	William
08/01/56	Mackenzie	William
03/04/56	Fitchet	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

Terence	*Comedies, Lat. Eng.(ed. Patrick), vol.2*	
10/04/54	Hallyburton	Thomas
25/04/55	Keay	William
12/11/55	Ross	William
27/11/55	Mackenzie	William
	Number of times borrowed	4

Addison	*Spectator vol.1*	
25/01/55	Watson	Peter
07/11/55	Low	John
18/12/55	Mackenzie	William
	Number of times borrowed	3

Addison	*Works vol.1*	
15/02/55	Bethune	John
08/01/57	Wilkie	Thomas
12/01/57	Ross	William
	Number of times borrowed	3

Baxter	*Cosmotheoria Puerilis**	
04/04/55	M'Nicol	Donald
07/05/55	Wilkie	Thomas
13/02/56	Low	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Baxter	*Immateriality of the Soul vol.2*	
25/12/54	Simson	James
28/01/56	M'Nicol	Donald
18/12/56	Mackenzie	William
	Number of times borrowed	3

Buchanan	*History of Scotland*	
22/01/55	Hallyburton	Thomas
18/03/55	Fitchet	John
03/11/55	Ross	William
	Number of times borrowed	3

Caesar	*Commentarii*	
17/01/54	Bethune	John
22/04/54	Ross	William
14/01/55	Fitchet	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Campbell, A.	*Moral Virtue*	
03/12/55	M'Nicol	Donald
25/01/56	Mackenzie	William
13/03/56	Low	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Chesterfield	*Economy of Human Life*	
20/04/54	Bethune	John
28/11/55	Low	John
08/04/56	Ross	William
	Number of times borrowed	3

Cicero	*Opera vol.1*	
25/03/55	Glass	Thomas
08/05/55	Glass	Thomas
08/12/55	Maxwell	Wiliam
	Number of times borrowed	3

Dodsley	*Preceptor vol.2*	
07/01/56	Stewart	James
02/02/56	Keay	William
25/03/56	Wilkie	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	3

Fordyce, David	*Dialogues concerning Education vol.1*	
18/01/55	Keay	William
04/12/55	Watson	Peter
23/02/57	Keay	William
	Number of times borrowed	3

Students matriculating in 1753

Horace		*Odes, etc., Lat. Eng. (ed. Watson), vol.1*	
13/02/55	Hallyburton	Thomas	
15/03/55	M'Nicol	Donald	
21/03/55	Ross	William	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Horace		*Odes, etc., Lat. Eng. (ed. Watson), vol.2*	
15/03/55	Hallyburton	Thomas	
21/03/55	M'Nicol	Donald	
20/12/55	Stewart	James	
	Number of times borrowed		3
King		*Origin of Evil*	
13/01/56	Hallyburton	Thomas	
13/04/56	Watson	Peter	
19/11/56	Watson	Peter	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Lowthorp		*Royal Society Transactions (abridged)**	
14/01/56	Hallyburton	Thomas	
29/01/56	Hallyburton	Thomas	
11/12/56	Hallyburton	Thomas	
	Number of times borrowed		3
n.a.		*Universal History vol.2*	
13/11/54	Wilkie	Thomas	
12/04/55	Stewart	John	
06/01/57	M'Nicol	Donald	
	Number of times borrowed		3
n.a.		*Universal History vol.3*	
25/11/54	Wilkie	Thomas	
28/11/55	Stewart	James	
07/01/56	Glass	Thomas	
	Number of times borrowed		3
n.a.		*Universal History vol.5*	
08/01/55	Wilkie	Thomas	
04/12/55	Stewart	James	
28/01/56	Glass	Thomas	
	Number of times borrowed		3
n.a.		*Universal History vol.7*	
07/02/55	Wilkie	Thomas	
16/03/56	Glass	Thomas	
06/11/56	Glass	Thomas	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Pope		*Homer's Iliad vol.6*	
13/01/55	Hallyburton	Thomas	
10/01/56	Fitchet	John	
06/04/56	Ross	William	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Pope		*Homer's Odyssey vol.1*	
05/04/54	Ross	William	
02/12/54	Hallyburton	Thomas	
04/12/55	Bethune	John	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Pope		*Homer's Odyssey vol.2*	
02/12/54	Hallyburton	Thomas	
09/05/55	Masson	William	
04/12/55	Bethune	John	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Pope		*Homer's Odyssey vol.4*	
04/12/54	Hallyburton	Thomas	
14/05/55	Masson	William	
17/12/55	Bethune	John	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Pope		*Homer's Odyssey vol.5*	
04/12/54	Hallyburton	Thomas	
02/06/55	Masson	William	
22/12/55	Bethune	John	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Pope		*Letters vol.1*	
24/04/54	Maxwell	Wiliam	
04/04/55	Hallyburton	Thomas	
12/04/56	Maxwell	Wiliam	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Ramsay, Andrew		*Travels of Cyrus vol.1*	
03/05/54	Bethune	John	
15/02/55	Stewart	John	
07/03/55	Stewart	John	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Ramsay, Andrew		*Travels of Cyrus vol.2*	
03/05/54	Bethune	John	
15/02/55	Stewart	John	
07/03/55	Stewart	John	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Rapin		*History of England vol.4*	
02/12/54	Bethune	John	
04/09/55	Masson	William	
20/11/55	Stewart	John	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Rapin		*History of England vol.9*	
18/01/55	Keay	William	
18/03/55	Watson	Peter	
17/12/55	Stewart	John	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Rollin		*Ancient History vol.6*	
24/04/54	Bethune	John	
18/12/54	Hallyburton	Thomas	
12/04/55	M'Nicol	Donald	
	Number of times borrowed		3

Students matriculating in 1753

Rollin — *Roman History vol.3*

13/02/55	Glass	Thomas
17/04/55	Maxwell	William
20/02/56	Bethune	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Rollin — *Roman History vol.4*

13/02/55	Glass	Thomas
25/04/55	Maxwell	William
10/03/56	Bethune	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Sallust — *Works, Lat. Eng. (ed. Clark)*

08/04/54	Ross	William
04/11/54	Keay	William
12/12/54	Glass	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	3

Shaftesbury — *Characteristicks vol.1*

17/01/56	Wilkie	Thomas
27/02/56	M'Nicol	Donald
17/11/56	Stewart	James
	Number of times borrowed	3

Shaftesbury — *Characteristicks vol.2*

29/01/56	Wilkie	Thomas
27/02/56	M'Nicol	Donald
17/12/56	Stewart	James
	Number of times borrowed	3

Thomson — *Works vol.1*

16/03/54	Scott	Robert
23/04/55	Bethune	John
09/05/55	M'Nicol	Donald
	Number of times borrowed	3

Varenius — *Geography vol.1*

30/01/56	Hallyburton	Thomas
28/04/56	Hallyburton	Thomas
17/03/57	Fitchet	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Varenius — *Geography vol.2*

30/01/56	Hallyburton	Thomas
28/04/56	Hallyburton	Thomas
17/03/57	Fitchet	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Addison — *Spectator vol.4*

03/12/55	Low	John
17/01/56	Mackenzie	William
	Number of times borrowed	2

Addison — *Spectator vol.6*

26/05/55	Glass	Thomas
19/11/56	Watson	Peter
	Number of times borrowed	2

Addison — *Works vol.2*

22/02/55	Bethune	John
24/02/57	Wilkie	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Blackwall — *Sacred Classics*

14/11/54	Watson	Peter
10/12/54	Low	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Blackwell — *Life of Homer*

20/03/55	Bethune	John
29/03/56	Hallyburton	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Derham — *Astrotheology*

04/04/55	M'Nicol	Donald
02/05/55	Wilkie	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Derham — *Physicotheologie*

21/05/55	Wilkie	Thomas
23/01/56	M'Nicol	Donald
	Number of times borrowed	2

Dodsley — *Preceptor vol.1*

21/04/55	Low	John
01/12/55	Keay	William
	Number of times borrowed	2

Drummond, Willia — *Works*

08/04/54	Bethune	John
06/11/55	Hallyburton	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Ellis — *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*

14/05/55	Ross	William
23/01/56	Hallyburton	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Eutropius — *Histories, Lat. Eng. (ed. Clarke)*

09/01/55	Mackenzie	William
24/01/55	Fitchet	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Fordyce, David — *Dialogues concerning Education vol.2*

01/02/55	Keay	William
17/03/57	Keay	William
	Number of times borrowed	2

Gay — *Fables vol.1*

16/04/54	Scott	Robert
20/02/56	Bethune	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Students matriculating in 1753

Hamilton — *Account of the East Indies vol.1*

20/11/55	Bethune	John
10/03/56	Hallyburton	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Hamilton — *Account of the East Indies vol.2*

20/11/55	Bethune	John
10/03/56	Hallyburton	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Homer — *Iliad, Gk. Lat. (ed. Clark), vol.1*

01/11/54	Scott	Robert
19/01/56	Glass	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Hume — *Principles of Morals*

05/02/56	Stewart	James
09/03/56	Keay	William
	Number of times borrowed	2

Justinus — *Works (trans. Clark)*

28/10/54	Keay	William
12/11/54	Ross	William
	Number of times borrowed	2

Locke — *Thoughts concerning Education*

25/11/54	M'Nicol	Donald
15/04/55	Low	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Malebranche — *Search after Truth vol.2*

17/11/55	M'Nicol	Donald
08/01/56	Low	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Murray — *Alethia: moral truths*

08/01/56	Stewart	John
10/02/56	Ross	William
	Number of times borrowed	2

n.a. — *Universal History vol.10*

14/05/55	Wilkie	Thomas
26/11/56	Glass	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

n.a. — *Universal History vol.4*

03/12/54	Wilkie	Thomas
05/03/57	M'Nicol	Donald
	Number of times borrowed	2

n.a. — *Universal History vol.6*

13/01/55	Wilkie	Thomas
14/02/56	Glass	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

n.a. — *Universal History vol.9*

22/02/55	Stewart	John
06/05/55	Wilkie	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Orrery — *Life of Swift*

18/03/56	M'Nicol	Donald
08/12/56	Glass	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Ovid — *Metamorphoses, Lat. Eng. (ed. Clark)*

22/01/55	Mackenzie	William
04/04/55	Fitchet	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Pitt — *Poems, 1727*

03/02/56	Hallyburton	Thomas
06/04/56	Glass	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Plato — *Opera, Gr. Lat.*

25/11/54	Wilkie	Thomas
03/10/55	Simson	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Pliny — *Letters (trans. Melmoth) vol.1*

12/03/55	Ross	William
10/04/55	Hallyburton	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Pliny — *Letters (trans. Melmoth) vol.2*

12/03/55	Ross	William
15/04/55	Hallyburton	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Pope — *Homer's Iliad vol.1*

19/12/54	Hallyburton	Thomas
17/04/56	Ross	William
	Number of times borrowed	2

Pope — *Homer's Iliad vol.2*

19/12/54	Hallyburton	Thomas
17/04/56	Ross	William
	Number of times borrowed	2

Pope — *Homer's Iliad vol.3*

13/12/54	Hallyburton	Thomas
11/05/56	Ross	William
	Number of times borrowed	2

Pope — *Homer's Iliad vol.4*

13/12/54	Hallyburton	Thomas
11/05/56	Ross	William
	Number of times borrowed	2

Pope — *Homer's Odyssey vol.3*

14/05/55	Masson	William
17/12/55	Bethune	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Students matriculating in 1753

Ramsay, Andrew — *Voyages de Cyrus*

10/02/55	Stewart	John
07/03/55	Stewart	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rapin — *History of England vol.11*

14/12/54	Stewart	James
26/04/55	Watson	Peter
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rapin — *History of England vol.12*

01/01/55	Stewart	James
08/05/55	Watson	Peter
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rapin — *History of England vol.14*

07/01/55	Stewart	James
04/04/55	Watson	Peter
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin — *Ancient History vol.10*

24/02/55	Ross	William
27/11/55	M'Nicol	Donald
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin — *Roman History vol.1*

22/01/55	Glass	Thomas
14/04/55	Maxwell	Wiliam
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin — *Roman History vol.2*

22/01/55	Glass	Thomas
17/04/55	Maxwell	Wiliam
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin — *Roman History vol.7*

04/04/55	Glass	Thomas
30/04/55	Maxwell	Wiliam
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin — *Roman History vol.8*

04/04/55	Glass	Thomas
26/05/55	Maxwell	Wiliam
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin — *Roman History vol.9*

17/04/55	Glass	Thomas
26/05/55	Maxwell	Wiliam
	Number of times borrowed	2

Saunderson — *Algebra vol.1*

15/03/55	Scott	Robert
08/04/55	Keay	William
	Number of times borrowed	2

Shaftesbury — *Characteristicks vol.3*

29/01/56	Wilkie	Thomas
27/02/56	M'Nicol	Donald
	Number of times borrowed	2

Smollett — *Roderick Random vol.2*

16/04/54	Bethune	John
22/04/54	Ross	William
	Number of times borrowed	2

Spottiswoode — *History of the Church of Scotland*

17/12/54	Mackenzie	William
06/12/55	Fitchet	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Tacitus — *Works (trans. Gordon) vol.1*

04/11/54	Glass	Thomas
05/04/55	Hallyburton	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Theophrastus — *Characters (trans. Budgel)*

24/01/54	Wilkie	Thomas
28/03/55	Keay	William
	Number of times borrowed	2

Thomson — *Works vol.2*

26/04/55	Bethune	John
14/05/55	M'Nicol	Donald
	Number of times borrowed	2

Xenophon — *Opera, Gr. Lat.**

01/11/54	Wilkie	Thomas
08/01/55	Ross	William
	Number of times borrowed	2

Addison — *Spectator vol.3*

30/11/54	Glass	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	1

Addison — *Spectator vol.7*

22/02/55	Watson	Peter
	Number of times borrowed	1

Antoninus — *Meditations, Engl., 1727*

15/02/55	Keay	William
	Number of times borrowed	1

Antoninus — *Meditations, Gr. Lat.*

29/10/55	Keay	William
	Number of times borrowed	1

Archimedes — *Opera (ed. Barrow)*

22/01/55	Wilkie	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	1

Bacon — *Works vol.1*

18/02/56	Hallyburton	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	1

Bacon — *Works vol.4*

22/03/56	Hallyburton	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	1

Students matriculating in 1753

Bisset — *Fortification*
01/03/55 Wilkie — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Bolingbroke — *Letters on History vol.1*
15/01/57 Wilkie — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Bolingbroke — *Letters on History vol.2*
15/01/57 Wilkie — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Boyle — *Lectures (abridged) vol.1*
01/03/57 Fitchet — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Boyle — *Lectures (abridged) vol.3*
08/01/57 Glass — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Boyle — *Lectures (abridged) vol.4*
18/01/57 Fitchet — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Boyle — *Occasional Reflexions*
10/12/55 M'Nicol — Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

Bradly — *Husbandry and Gardening*
05/02/55 Fitchet — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Bragge — *Regulation of the Passions*
28/03/55 Keay — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Brown — *Lives of the Princes of Orange*
11/02/56 Hallyburton — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Carmichael — *Introduction to Logic*
09/04/55 Mackenzie — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Carte — *History of England**
22/02/55 Maxwell — Wiliam
Number of times borrowed 1

Caylus — *Oriental Tales vol.1*
02/12/55 Bethune — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Caylus — *Oriental Tales vol.2*
02/12/55 Bethune — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Cicero — *Opera vol.2*
01/12/56 Fitchet — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Clarendon — *History of the Rebellion vol.1*
18/03/55 Stewart — James
Number of times borrowed 1

Clarendon — *History of the Rebellion vol.2*
17/04/55 Stewart — James
Number of times borrowed 1

Clarendon — *History of the Rebellion vol.3*
08/05/55 Stewart — James
Number of times borrowed 1

Clark — *Essay on Study*
11/04/55 Low — John
Number of times borrowed 1

De Vries — *Exercitationes Rationales*
20/03/55 Low — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Defoe — *Robinson Crusoe vol.1*
11/05/54 Bethune — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Defoe — *Robinson Crusoe vol.2*
11/05/54 Bethune — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Derodon — *Logica 1615*
10/04/55 Mackenzie — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Doddridge — *Family Expositor**
11/03/56 Masson — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Epictetus — *Enchiridion, Gr. Lat., vol.1*
02/02/56 Keay — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Euripides — *Tragedies, Gr. Lat.*
16/11/54 Low — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Fenton — *Poems*
29/04/55 Mackenzie — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Fielding — *Joseph Andrews vol.1*
14/11/54 Masson — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Fielding — *Joseph Andrews vol.2*
14/11/54 Masson — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Florus — *Roman History, Lat. Eng. (trans. Clarke)*
16/12/54 Low — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1753

Fontanelle *Plurality of Worlds*
20/05/56 Ross William
Number of times borrowed 1

Gay *Fables vol.2*
19/04/54 Scott Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Gibbs *Architecture*
21/02/55 Wilkie Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Hammond *Practical Surveyor*
11/02/55 Wilkie Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Homer *Battle of Frogs and Mice*
25/11/54 Low John
Number of times borrowed 1

Homer *Iliad, Gk. Lat.(ed. Clark), vol.2*
06/11/54 Scott Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Hume *Political Discourses*
05/04/56 Keay William
Number of times borrowed 1

Langley *Practical Geometry*
26/05/55 Wilkie Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Lawrence *Surveyor's Guide*
07/05/55 Keay William
Number of times borrowed 1

Locke *Works vol.2*
27/02/56 Ross William
Number of times borrowed 1

Locke *Works vol.3*
17/01/56 Keay William
Number of times borrowed 1

Lucan *Pharsalia (trans. Rowe)*
14/12/54 Bethune John
Number of times borrowed 1

Lucretius *De Rerum Natura (trans. Creech)*
03/04/55 Hallyburton Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Maclaurin *Newton's Philosophy*
27/11/56 Hallyburton Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Malcolm *Arithmetic*
16/11/54 Low John
Number of times borrowed 1

Malebranche *Search after Truth vol.1*
17/11/55 M'Nicol Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

Maupertuis *Figure of the Earth*
14/04/56 Hallyburton Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Middleton *Life of Cicero vol.1*
01/04/54 M'Nicol Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

Middleton *Life of Cicero vol.2*
06/04/54 M'Nicol Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

Milton *Paradise Lost vol.1*
16/05/55 Scott Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Molesworth *Account of Denmark*
17/03/56 Hallyburton Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Molière *Plays vol.1*
21/11/54 Stewart John
Number of times borrowed 1

Molière *Plays vol.2*
25/11/54 Stewart John
Number of times borrowed 1

Molière *Plays vol.3*
23/11/54 Stewart John
Number of times borrowed 1

Molière *Plays vol.4*
26/11/54 Stewart John
Number of times borrowed 1

Molière *Plays vol.5*
27/11/54 Stewart John
Number of times borrowed 1

Molière *Plays vol.6*
29/11/54 Stewart John
Number of times borrowed 1

Molière *Plays vol.7*
03/12/54 Stewart John
Number of times borrowed 1

Molière *Plays vol.8*
03/12/54 Stewart John
Number of times borrowed 1

Musschenbroek *Dissertationes*
13/12/56 Watson Peter
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1753

n.a. *Bible in Irish*
18/12/56 M'Nicol Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Philosophical Transactions 1746*
07/02/56 Bethune John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Philosophical Transactions vol.39*
22/04/55 Wilkie Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Philosophical Transactions vol.42*
14/02/56 Bethune John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Philosophical Transactions vol.43*
30/01/56 Bethune John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Philosophical Transactions vol.44*
10/06/56 Wilkie Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Psalms in Erse 1753*
15/11/55 M'Nicol Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.12*
11/03/56 Stewart John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.14*
13/03/56 Stewart John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.15*
13/03/56 Stewart John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.16*
16/03/56 Stewart John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.17*
16/03/56 Stewart John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.18*
03/03/57 Glass Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.8*
25/04/55 Wilkie Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Newton *System of the World*
14/04/55 Wilkie Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Nieuwentyt *Religious Philosopher vol.1*
15/01/57 Keay William
Number of times borrowed 1

Nieuwentyt *Religious Philosopher vol.2*
31/01/57 Keay William
Number of times borrowed 1

Nieuwentyt *Religious Philosopher vol.3*
31/01/57 Keay William
Number of times borrowed 1

Pictet *Theologie Chretienne*
14/03/57 M'Nicol Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

Pindar *Odes (trans. West)*
16/02/54 Wilkie Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Poole *Annotations on the Bible**
11/03/56 Masson William
Number of times borrowed 1

Pope *Letters vol.2*
29/04/54 Wilkie Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Pope *Works vol.1*
09/12/54 M'Nicol Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

Prior *Poems*
01/05/55 M'Nicol Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

Puffendorf *Law of Nature*
04/12/55 Glass Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.13*
20/12/54 Stewart James
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.15*
17/01/55 Stewart James
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Ancient History vol.11*
21/02/55 Ross William
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Roman History vol.10*
17/04/55 Glass Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1753

Rutherforth — *Natural Philosophy vol.1*
15/01/57 Wilkie — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Sallust — *Works (trans. Cooke)*
29/11/54 Low — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Simson, Robert — *Conick Sections*
17/12/54 Wilkie — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Simson, Robert — *Geometry*
17/05/54 Wilkie — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Steele — *Guardian vol.2*
27/12/54 Low — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Swift — *Gulliver's Travels vol.1*
31/10/54 Masson — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Swift — *Gulliver's Travels vol.2*
31/10/54 Masson — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Swift — *Life of Dean Swift*
23/03/56 M'Nicol — Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

Swift — *Miscellanies vol.1*
13/05/56 Hallyburton — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Swift — *Miscellanies vol.2*
13/05/56 Hallyburton — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Tacitus — *Works (trans. Gordon) vol.2*
12/04/55 Hallyburton — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Tacitus — *Works (trans. Gordon) vol.3*
16/12/55 Hallyburton — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Tacitus — *Works (trans. Gordon) vol.4*
16/12/55 Hallyburton — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Ulacque — *Tables*
26/04/55 Hallyburton — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Virgil — *Aeneid (trans. Vicar)*
22/02/55 Mackenzie — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Wallis — *Works vol.2*
29/10/55 Keay — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Webster — *Arithmetic*
16/04/56 Wilkie — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Webster — *Book-keeping*
26/03/56 Wilkie — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Xenophon — *Cyropaedia, Gr. Lat.*
11/02/55 Ross — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Xenophon — *History of Greece (trans. Newman)*
15/01/54 Wilkie — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Young, Edward — *Night Thoughts*
12/11/55 Keay — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1768

Robertson, William — *History of Scotland vol.1*

17/12/68	Laing	Jacobus
30/01/70	Jobson	John
17/02/70	Chalmers	John
22/02/70	M'Arthur	John
23/03/70	Fisher	John
23/05/70	Bell	Andrew
25/10/70	Ranken	Thomas
14/02/71	Robertson	Allan
03/06/72	Bell	Andrew

Number of times borrowed 9

Haywood — *Invisible Spy vol.1*

31/12/68	Stark	John
24/01/70	Ranken	Thomas
20/02/70	Constable	Thomas
13/03/70	Fisher	John
16/04/70	Stewart	Alexander
03/01/71	Thomson	David
02/02/71	Villettes	William
15/05/71	Bell	Andrew

Number of times borrowed 8

Dodsley — *Preceptor vol.1*

15/12/68	Jobson	John
03/05/69	Badenach	James
27/10/69	Badenach	James
18/11/69	Mitchel	William
05/02/70	Thomson	David
25/10/70	Playfair	James
12/03/71	Mitchel	William

Number of times borrowed 7

Dodsley — *Preceptor vol.2*

15/12/68	Jobson	John
01/12/69	Mitchel	William
05/02/70	Thomson	David
25/10/70	Playfair	James
19/02/71	Bruce	George
14/12/71	Mitchel	William
28/12/71	Bruce	George

Number of times borrowed 7

Hawkesworth — *Adventurer vol.3*

01/05/69	M'Arthur	John
23/01/70	Robertson	Allan
15/02/70	Gordon	George
07/04/70	Singer	Archibald
29/11/71	Mitchel	William
27/12/71	Thomson	David
11/01/72	Stewart	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 7

Hawkesworth — *Adventurer vol.4*

01/05/69	M'Arthur	John
23/01/70	Robertson	Allan
15/02/70	Gordon	George
07/04/70	Singer	Archibald
29/11/71	Mitchel	William
27/12/71	Thomson	David
11/01/72	Stewart	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 7

Haywood — *Invisible Spy vol.2*

31/12/68	Stark	John
24/01/70	Ranken	Thomas
13/03/70	Fisher	John
16/04/70	Stewart	Alexander
03/01/71	Thomson	David
02/02/71	Villettes	William
15/05/71	Bell	Andrew

Number of times borrowed 7

Richardson — *Charles Grandison vol.1*

24/12/68	Bell	Andrew
03/03/69	Murray	Alexander
29/03/70	Drayton	Glen
19/04/70	M'Arthur	John
25/10/70	Jobson	John
09/01/71	Robertson	Allan
24/04/72	Thomson	David

Number of times borrowed 7

Richardson — *Charles Grandison vol.2*

16/01/69	Bell	Andrew
03/03/69	Murray	Alexander
29/03/70	Drayton	Glen
19/04/70	M'Arthur	John
25/10/70	Jobson	John
06/02/71	Robertson	Allan
24/04/72	Thomson	David

Number of times borrowed 7

Richardson — *Charles Grandison vol.3*

11/02/69	Bell	Andrew
29/03/69	Murray	Alexander
24/04/70	Stark	John
23/05/70	Drayton	Glen
02/11/70	Jobson	John
06/02/71	Robertson	Allan
13/04/72	Playfair	James

Number of times borrowed 7

Richardson — *Charles Grandison vol.4*

24/12/68	Bell	Andrew
11/02/69	Bell	Andrew
29/03/69	Murray	Alexander
24/04/70	Stark	John
23/05/70	Drayton	Glen
02/11/70	Jobson	John
13/04/72	Playfair	James

Number of times borrowed 7

Students matriculating in 1768

Addison	*Spectator vol.4*	
13/01/69	Badenach	James
15/02/69	Playfair	James
17/03/69	M'Arthur	John
21/05/69	Bell	Andrew
28/11/69	Fisher	John
17/07/71	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	6

Haywood	*Invisible Spy vol.3*	
01/01/69	Stark	John
10/03/70	Fisher	John
23/04/70	Stewart	Alexander
12/01/71	Thomson	David
02/02/71	Villettes	William
22/05/71	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	6

Haywood	*Invisible Spy vol.4*	
01/01/69	Stark	John
10/03/70	Fisher	John
23/04/70	Stewart	Alexander
12/01/71	Thomson	David
02/02/71	Villettes	William
22/05/71	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	6

Hooke	*Roman History vol. 1*	
15/12/68	Constable	Thomas
09/02/69	Crichton	James
31/03/69	Playfair	James
09/08/69	Bell	Andrew
13/01/70	Stewart	Alexander
30/04/70	Jobson	John
	Number of times borrowed	6

Hooke	*Roman History vol.2*	
20/12/68	Stark	John
07/01/69	Laing	Jacobus
09/02/69	Constable	Thomas
21/03/69	Crichton	James
13/09/69	Bell	Andrew
27/01/70	Playfair	James
	Number of times borrowed	6

Horace	*Odes, etc., Lat. Eng. (ed. Watson), vol.1*	
17/12/68	Crichton	James
13/01/69	Robertson	Allan
17/03/69	Playfair	James
30/03/69	M'Arthur	John
21/11/69	M'Arthur	John
11/07/70	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	6

Johnson, Samuel	*Rambler vol.1*	
04/12/69	Badenach	James
23/02/70	Playfair	James
12/11/70	Gordon	George
17/12/70	Stewart	Alexander
04/02/71	Robertson	Allan
18/11/71	Bruce	George
	Number of times borrowed	6

Johnson, Samuel	*Rambler vol.2*	
04/12/69	Badenach	James
23/02/70	Playfair	James
12/11/70	Gordon	George
17/12/70	Stewart	Alexander
04/02/71	Robertson	Allan
18/11/71	Bruce	George
	Number of times borrowed	6

Pope	*Homer's Iliad vol.4*	
17/03/69	Constable	Thomas
06/04/69	Singer	Archibald
11/11/69	Thomson	David
25/01/70	Villettes	William
14/03/70	Hunter	John
19/01/71	Bruce	George
	Number of times borrowed	6

Pope	*Homer's Odyssey vol.1*	
28/01/69	Bruce	George
11/03/69	Crichton	James
30/03/69	Chalmers	John
20/02/70	Villettes	William
17/10/70	Bell	Andrew
05/01/71	Bruce	George
	Number of times borrowed	6

Pope	*Homer's Odyssey vol.2*	
28/01/69	Bruce	George
11/03/69	Crichton	James
30/03/69	Chalmers	John
20/02/70	Villettes	William
17/10/70	Bell	Andrew
05/01/71	Bruce	George
	Number of times borrowed	6

Robertson, William	*History of Scotland vol.2*	
17/12/68	Laing	Jacobus
22/02/70	M'Arthur	John
14/03/70	Chalmers	John
23/05/70	Bell	Andrew
14/02/71	Robertson	Allan
03/06/72	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	6

Students matriculating in 1768

Shakespeare — *Works vol.2*

19/04/69	Laing	Jacobus
30/10/69	Gordon	George
06/01/70	Hunter	John
28/11/70	Stewart	Alexander
17/12/70	Playfair	James
29/11/71	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	6

Sully — *Memoirs vol.1*

31/12/68	Jobson	John
28/01/69	Stark	John
01/11/69	Drayton	Glen
15/03/70	Villettes	Henry
05/04/70	Makdougall	Henry
19/06/71	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	6

Sully — *Memoirs vol.2*

31/12/68	Jobson	John
28/01/69	Stark	John
01/11/69	Drayton	Glen
15/03/70	Villettes	Henry
05/04/70	Makdougall	Henry
19/06/71	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	6

Terence — *Comedies, Lat. Eng.(ed. Patrick), vol.2*

16/12/68	Mitchel	William
03/04/69	Thomson	David
27/04/69	Badenach	James
24/02/70	Jobson	John
22/08/70	Bell	Andrew
01/02/71	Badenach	James
	Number of times borrowed	6

Ward — *Oratory vol.1*

12/01/70	Badenach	James
10/02/70	Bruce	George
02/03/70	Mackenzie	John
02/11/70	Jobson	John
28/11/70	Bruce	George
29/03/71	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	6

Ward — *Oratory vol.2*

12/01/70	Badenach	James
10/02/70	Bruce	George
02/03/70	Mackenzie	John
02/11/70	Jobson	John
28/11/70	Bruce	George
29/03/71	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	6

Addison — *Spectator vol.1*

17/01/69	Playfair	James
24/05/69	Bell	Andrew
30/10/69	Bell	Andrew
01/11/69	M'Arthur	John
03/07/71	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	5

Addison — *Spectator vol.3*

15/02/69	Playfair	James
21/06/69	Bell	Andrew
02/11/69	Stewart	Alexander
28/11/69	Fisher	John
17/07/71	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	5

Addison — *Spectator vol.5*

13/01/69	Badenach	James
09/03/69	Playfair	James
17/03/69	M'Arthur	John
11/07/69	Bell	Andrew
01/12/69	Laing	Jacobus
	Number of times borrowed	5

Addison — *Spectator vol.6*

09/03/69	Playfair	James
24/03/69	M'Arthur	John
11/07/69	Bell	Andrew
30/10/69	Bell	Andrew
01/12/69	Laing	Jacobus
	Number of times borrowed	5

Anson — *Voyage*

17/12/68	Thomson	David
19/01/69	Crichton	James
17/02/69	Stark	John
15/11/70	Thomson	David
06/01/71	Villettes	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	5

Fielding — *Tom Jones vol.1*

31/10/69	Ranken	Thomas
06/02/70	Villettes	Henry
02/06/70	Bell	Andrew
08/08/70	Gillespie	William
06/11/71	Ranken	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	5

Fielding — *Tom Jones vol.2*

31/10/69	Ranken	Thomas
08/03/70	Fisher	John
02/06/70	Bell	Andrew
08/08/70	Gillespie	William
06/11/71	Ranken	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	5

Students matriculating in 1768

Kames	*Elements of Criticism vol.1*	
13/12/69	Robertson	Allan
24/01/70	Ranken	Thomas
28/02/70	Bell	Andrew
15/03/70	Makdougall	Henry
16/04/70	Fisher	John
	Number of times borrowed	5

Locke	*Essay on Human Understanding*	
17/12/68	Singer	Archibald
17/03/70	Villettes	William
13/04/70	M'Arthur	John
22/04/71	Playfair	James
03/02/72	Robertson	Allan
	Number of times borrowed	5

Milton	*Paradise Lost vol.1*	
01/11/69	Drayton	Glen
06/12/69	Hunter	John
15/01/70	Singer	Archibald
29/01/70	Hunter	John
20/02/70	Gordon	George
	Number of times borrowed	5

Montague	*Letters vol.1*	
19/02/70	Singer	Archibald
27/02/70	Ranken	Thomas
21/03/70	Fisher	John
10/10/70	Bell	Andrew
25/11/71	Villettes	William
	Number of times borrowed	5

Montague	*Letters vol.2*	
19/02/70	Singer	Archibald
03/03/70	Ranken	Thomas
21/03/70	Fisher	John
10/10/70	Bell	Andrew
25/11/71	Villettes	William
	Number of times borrowed	5

Pope	*Homer's Iliad vol.2*	
08/02/69	Stark	John
20/03/69	Constable	Thomas
22/11/69	Villettes	Henry
24/02/70	Hunter	John
21/01/71	Villettes	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	5

Pope	*Homer's Odyssey vol.3*	
25/03/69	Crichton	James
11/04/69	Chalmers	John
23/02/70	Villettes	William
31/10/70	Bell	Andrew
19/01/71	Bruce	George
	Number of times borrowed	5

Shaftesbury	*Characteristicks vol.1*	
09/11/70	Playfair	James
22/12/70	Mitchel	William
12/01/71	Robertson	Allan
30/10/71	Badenach	James
17/04/72	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	5

Shaftesbury	*Characteristicks vol.2*	
09/11/70	Playfair	James
22/12/70	Mitchel	William
12/01/71	Robertson	Allan
30/10/71	Badenach	James
17/03/72	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	5

Shakespeare	*Works vol.1*	
19/04/69	Laing	Jacobus
30/10/69	Gordon	George
28/11/70	Stewart	Alexander
17/12/70	Playfair	James
29/11/71	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	5

Shakespeare	*Works vol.5*	
06/05/69	Crichton	James
31/10/69	Hunter	John
03/12/70	Badenach	James
27/12/70	Playfair	James
12/04/71	Makdougall	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	5

Shakespeare	*Works vol.6*	
07/11/69	Hunter	John
10/03/70	Villettes	William
23/11/70	Badenach	James
03/12/70	Badenach	James
27/12/70	Playfair	James
	Number of times borrowed	5

Swift	*Works vol.7*	
23/12/68	Stark	John
08/11/69	Singer	Archibald
25/04/70	Playfair	James
10/01/71	Ranken	Thomas
20/12/71	Ranken	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	5

Addison	*Spectator vol.2*	
17/01/69	Playfair	James
24/05/69	Bell	Andrew
02/11/69	Stewart	Alexander
03/07/71	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	4

Students matriculating in 1768

Addison	*Works vol.2*	
03/10/69	Mackenzie	John
12/01/70	M'Arthur	John
17/03/70	Singer	Archibald
23/10/71	Villettes	William
	Number of times borrowed	4

Banier	*Mythology vol.1*	
15/12/68	Gordon	George
10/01/69	Fisher	John
15/02/69	Hunter	John
18/02/69	Crichton	James
	Number of times borrowed	4

Brooke	*Natural History vol.1*	
12/04/69	Chalmers	John
04/05/69	Stark	John
14/06/69	Stark	John
20/11/71	Playfair	James
	Number of times borrowed	4

Brooke, Frances	*Emily Montague vol.1*	
22/02/71	Villettes	Henry
17/04/71	Ranken	Thomas
05/06/71	Bell	Andrew
21/02/72	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	4

Brooke, Frances	*Emily Montague vol.2*	
22/02/71	Villettes	Henry
17/04/71	Ranken	Thomas
05/06/71	Bell	Andrew
21/02/72	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	4

Brooke, Frances	*Emily Montague vol.3*	
22/02/71	Villettes	Henry
29/04/71	Ranken	Thomas
05/06/71	Bell	Andrew
26/02/72	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	4

Brooke, Frances	*Emily Montague vol.4*	
22/02/71	Villettes	Henry
29/04/71	Ranken	Thomas
05/06/71	Bell	Andrew
26/02/72	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	4

Fielding	*Tom Jones vol.3*	
24/01/69	Stark	John
08/03/70	Fisher	John
04/07/70	Bell	Andrew
06/11/71	Ranken	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	4

Fielding	*Tom Jones vol.4*	
24/01/69	Stark	John
14/03/70	Fisher	John
04/07/70	Bell	Andrew
12/11/71	Ranken	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	4

Horace	*Odes, etc., Lat. Eng. (ed. Watson), vol.2*	
17/12/68	Crichton	James
13/01/69	Robertson	Allan
17/03/69	Playfair	James
30/03/69	M'Arthur	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

Kames	*Elements of Criticism vol.2*	
13/12/69	Robertson	Allan
12/01/70	Bell	Andrew
24/01/70	Ranken	Thomas
16/04/70	Fisher	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

Kames	*Elements of Criticism vol.3*	
04/01/70	Robertson	Allan
24/01/70	Ranken	Thomas
28/02/70	Bell	Andrew
15/03/70	Makdougall	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	4

Maclaurin	*Newton's Philosophy*	
09/11/70	Murray	Alexander
13/11/71	Constable	Thomas
25/01/72	Bell	Andrew
24/02/72	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	4

Mair	*Book-keeping*	
19/03/70	Chalmers	John
07/03/71	Robertson	Allan
17/06/72	Bell	Andrew
02/09/72	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	4

Milton	*Paradise Lost vol.2*	
01/11/69	Drayton	Glen
15/01/70	Singer	Archibald
29/01/70	Hunter	John
20/02/70	Gordon	George
	Number of times borrowed	4

Molière	*Plays vol.5*	
16/05/69	Stark	John
06/06/70	Villettes	William
29/03/71	Mitchel	William
12/04/71	Singer	Archibald
	Number of times borrowed	4

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Molière — *Plays vol.6*

16/05/69	Stark	John
06/06/70	Villettes	William
29/03/71	Mitchel	William
12/04/71	Singer	Archibald
	Number of times borrowed	4

Montague — *Letters vol.3*

12/03/70	Ranken	Thomas
22/03/70	Fisher	John
10/10/70	Bell	Andrew
25/11/71	Villettes	William
	Number of times borrowed	4

Nettleton — *Virtue and Happiness*

04/01/71	Singer	Archibald
30/01/71	Playfair	James
19/02/71	Mitchel	William
14/12/71	Bruce	George
	Number of times borrowed	4

Ossian — *Fingal*

06/12/69	Hunter	John
16/01/70	Fisher	John
31/01/70	Murray	Alexander
02/03/71	Bruce	George
	Number of times borrowed	4

Ossian — *Temora*

16/01/70	Murray	Alexander
28/02/70	Fisher	John
14/03/70	Laing	Jacobus
24/03/70	Singer	Archibald
	Number of times borrowed	4

Pope — *Homer's Iliad vol.1*

04/02/69	Stark	John
22/11/69	Villettes	Henry
24/02/70	Hunter	John
21/01/71	Villettes	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	4

Pope — *Homer's Odyssey vol.4*

25/03/69	Crichton	James
18/04/69	Chalmers	John
23/02/70	Villettes	William
31/10/70	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	4

Pope — *Works vol.8*

05/04/69	Gordon	George
12/01/70	Stark	John
29/01/70	Laing	Jacobus
19/03/71	Singer	Archibald
	Number of times borrowed	4

Pope — *Works vol.9*

05/04/69	Gordon	George
17/01/70	Stark	John
17/02/70	Laing	Jacobus
05/12/70	Robertson	Allan
	Number of times borrowed	4

Richardson — *Charles Grandison vol.5*

23/03/69	Bell	Andrew
05/05/69	Murray	Alexander
25/07/70	Drayton	Glen
27/04/72	Playfair	James
	Number of times borrowed	4

Shakespeare — *Works vol.8*

31/10/69	Hunter	John
07/11/69	Hunter	John
23/11/70	Badenach	James
08/03/71	Makdougall	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	4

Steele — *Guardian vol.1*

19/01/69	Chalmers	John
28/01/69	Chalmers	John
18/11/69	Robertson	Allan
31/01/70	Singer	Archibald
	Number of times borrowed	4

Sully — *Memoirs vol.4*

30/01/69	Stark	John
01/11/69	Drayton	Glen
05/04/70	Villettes	Henry
29/01/71	Villettes	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	4

Swift — *Gulliver's Travels vol.1*

28/01/69	Stewart	Alexander
17/03/69	M'Arthur	John
15/04/69	Thomson	David
01/11/69	Drayton	Glen
	Number of times borrowed	4

Swift — *Gulliver's Travels vol.2*

28/01/69	Stewart	Alexander
17/03/69	M'Arthur	John
15/04/69	Thomson	David
01/11/69	Drayton	Glen
	Number of times borrowed	4

Swift — *Works vol.1*

08/11/69	Robertson	Allan
18/11/69	Chalmers	John
02/11/70	Bruce	George
11/01/71	Drayton	Glen
	Number of times borrowed	4

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Swift	*Works vol.5*	
18/11/69	Bruce	George
19/04/70	Playfair	James
02/11/70	Bruce	George
10/01/71	Ranken	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	4

Swift	*Works vol.6*	
23/12/68	Stark	John
08/11/69	Singer	Archibald
19/04/70	Playfair	James
20/12/71	Ranken	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	4

Terence	*Comedies, Lat. Eng. (ed. Patrick), vol.1*	
16/12/68	Mitchel	William
30/03/69	Thomson	David
24/02/70	Jobson	John
22/08/70	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	4

Addison	*Spectator vol.7*	
17/01/69	Bruce	George
24/03/69	M'Arthur	John
02/08/69	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	3

Addison	*Works vol.1*	
17/12/68	Gordon	George
03/10/69	Mackenzie	John
23/10/71	Villettes	William
	Number of times borrowed	3

Beattie	*Essay on Truth*	
02/11/71	Mitchel	William
22/11/71	Villettes	Henry
05/02/72	Bruce	George
	Number of times borrowed	3

Blackwall	*Sacred Classics*	
07/01/69	Gordon	George
08/11/69	Playfair	James
08/12/69	Mitchel	William
	Number of times borrowed	3

Boswell	*Corsica*	
07/01/69	Thomson	David
06/04/70	Fisher	John
29/01/71	Robertson	Allan
	Number of times borrowed	3

Brooke, Henry	*Fool of Quality vol.1*	
04/04/71	Villettes	Henry
15/06/71	Bell	Andrew
02/11/71	Mitchel	William
	Number of times borrowed	3

Brooke, Henry	*Fool of Quality vol.2*	
04/04/71	Villettes	Henry
15/06/71	Bell	Andrew
02/11/71	Mitchel	William
	Number of times borrowed	3

Brooke, Henry	*Fool of Quality vol.3*	
04/04/71	Villettes	Henry
15/06/71	Bell	Andrew
19/11/71	Mitchel	William
	Number of times borrowed	3

Brooke, Henry	*Fool of Quality vol.4*	
04/04/71	Villettes	Henry
15/06/71	Bell	Andrew
19/11/71	Mitchel	William
	Number of times borrowed	3

Butler	*Hudibras*	
25/02/69	Stark	John
04/04/71	Ranken	Thomas
11/05/72	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	3

Caylus	*Oriental Tales vol.1*	
30/04/70	Chalmers	John
29/11/70	Murray	Alexander
27/12/70	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	3

Caylus	*Oriental Tales vol.2*	
30/04/70	Chalmers	John
29/11/70	Murray	Alexander
27/12/70	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	3

Cervantes	*Don Quixote (trans. Jarvis) vol.1*	
16/11/69	Stewart	Alexander
01/12/69	Murray	Alexander
13/04/72	Robertson	Allan
	Number of times borrowed	3

Cervantes	*Don Quixote (trans. Jarvis) vol.2*	
16/11/69	Stewart	Alexander
01/12/69	Murray	Alexander
13/04/72	Robertson	Allan
	Number of times borrowed	3

Cicero	*Letters (trans. Melmoth) vol.1*	
16/12/68	Mitchel	William
24/02/69	Badenach	James
27/10/69	Badenach	James
	Number of times borrowed	3

Students matriculating in 1768

Ferguson, Adam	*Essay on Civil Society*	
07/02/71	Badenach	James
11/03/71	Badenach	James
03/02/72	Mitchel	William
	Number of times borrowed	3

Fielding	*Amelia vol.1*	
13/02/69	Stark	John
12/03/70	Stewart	Alexander
17/10/70	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	3

Fielding	*Amelia vol.2*	
13/02/69	Stark	John
12/03/70	Stewart	Alexander
17/10/70	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	3

Fielding	*Amelia vol.3*	
03/02/69	Stark	John
16/03/70	Stewart	Alexander
02/11/70	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	3

Fielding	*Amelia vol.4*	
03/02/69	Stark	John
16/03/70	Stewart	Alexander
02/11/70	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	3

Fielding	*Tom Jones vol.5*	
14/01/69	Stark	John
14/03/70	Fisher	John
04/07/70	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	3

Grove	*Moral Philosophy vol.1*	
31/10/70	Singer	Archibald
30/11/70	Gordon	George
13/04/71	Bruce	George
	Number of times borrowed	3

Grove	*Moral Philosophy vol.2*	
31/10/70	Singer	Archibald
30/11/70	Gordon	George
13/04/71	Bruce	George
	Number of times borrowed	3

Hawkesworth	*Adventurer vol.1*	
26/11/69	Constable	Thomas
02/01/72	Stewart	Alexander
11/01/72	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	3

Hawkesworth	*Adventurer vol.2*	
26/11/69	Constable	Thomas
02/01/72	Stewart	Alexander
11/01/72	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	3

Haywood	*Female Spectator vol.1*	
17/02/70	Stark	John
23/02/70	Constable	Thomas
18/01/71	Jobson	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Hume	*Essays vol.1*	
19/11/71	Villettes	Henry
29/02/72	Villettes	William
03/08/72	Villettes	William
	Number of times borrowed	3

Hume	*History vol.6*	
12/04/70	Laing	Jacobus
13/02/71	Murray	Alexander
11/11/71	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	3

Hutcheson	*Passions and Affections*	
20/03/69	Mitchel	William
15/03/70	Mackenzie	John
15/12/70	Singer	Archibald
	Number of times borrowed	3

Johnson, Samuel	*Rambler vol.3*	
07/03/70	Playfair	James
12/11/70	Gordon	George
20/12/70	Stewart	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Johnson, Samuel	*Rambler vol.4*	
07/03/70	Playfair	James
12/11/70	Gordon	George
20/12/70	Stewart	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Keil	*Astronomy*	
04/01/71	Singer	Archibald
17/07/71	Bell	Andrew
01/04/72	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	3

n.a.	*Plays vol.2*	
13/06/70	Villettes	William
12/02/71	Ranken	Thomas
16/02/71	Ranken	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	3

Pope	*Essays on Man & on Criticism*	
08/11/69	Robertson	Allan
28/02/70	Mitchel	William
07/04/70	Bruce	George
	Number of times borrowed	3

Pope	*Homer's Iliad vol.3*	
11/11/69	Thomson	David
25/01/70	Villettes	William
14/03/70	Hunter	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

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Pope	*Works vol.1*	
20/01/70	Jobson	John
19/11/70	Robertson	Allan
15/01/71	Playfair	James
	Number of times borrowed	3

Pope	*Works vol.10*	
17/01/70	Stark	John
17/02/70	Laing	Jacobus
05/12/70	Robertson	Allan
	Number of times borrowed	3

Pope	*Works vol.2*	
20/01/70	Jobson	John
19/11/70	Robertson	Allan
15/01/71	Playfair	James
	Number of times borrowed	3

Pope	*Works vol.7*	
12/01/70	Stark	John
29/01/70	Laing	Jacobus
19/03/71	Singer	Archibald
	Number of times borrowed	3

Richardson	*Charles Grandison vol.6*	
23/03/69	Bell	Andrew
30/05/70	Drayton	Glen
27/04/72	Playfair	James
	Number of times borrowed	3

Rollin	*Belles Lettres vol.3*	
21/11/69	M'Arthur	John
13/01/70	Robertson	Allan
23/01/70	Laing	Jacobus
	Number of times borrowed	3

Rollin	*Roman History vol.5*	
27/12/68	Playfair	James
14/02/69	Singer	Archibald
26/12/71	Stewart	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Rollin	*Roman History vol.6*	
27/12/68	Playfair	James
14/02/69	Singer	Archibald
26/12/71	Stewart	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Rutherforth	*Natural Philosophy vol.1*	
01/11/69	M'Arthur	John
24/07/71	Bell	Andrew
08/01/72	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	3

Shakespeare	*Works vol.4*	
06/05/69	Crichton	James
10/01/70	Villettes	William
12/04/71	Makdougall	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	3

Shenstone	*Works vol.1*	
07/02/69	Jobson	John
14/02/71	Villettes	Henry
26/11/71	Constable	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	3

Shenstone	*Works vol.2*	
07/02/69	Jobson	John
14/02/71	Villettes	Henry
26/11/71	Constable	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	3

Smollett	*Peregrine Pickle vol.2*	
26/12/68	Stark	John
14/01/69	Stewart	Alexander
11/10/69	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	3

Steele	*Guardian vol.2*	
19/01/69	Chalmers	John
18/11/69	Robertson	Allan
31/01/70	Singer	Archibald
	Number of times borrowed	3

Steele	*Tatler vol.1*	
31/10/69	Laing	Jacobus
17/01/70	Stark	John
30/01/71	Bruce	George
	Number of times borrowed	3

Steele	*Tatler vol.2*	
31/10/69	Laing	Jacobus
17/01/70	Stark	John
30/01/71	Bruce	George
	Number of times borrowed	3

Steele	*Tatler vol.3*	
11/11/69	Badenach	James
07/12/69	Singer	Archibald
20/01/70	Stark	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Steele	*Tatler vol.4*	
11/11/69	Badenach	James
07/12/69	Singer	Archibald
20/01/70	Stark	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Sully	*Memoirs vol.3*	
30/01/69	Stark	John
01/11/69	Drayton	Glen
05/04/70	Villettes	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	3

Sully	*Memoirs vol.5*	
30/01/69	Stark	John
01/11/69	Drayton	Glen
05/04/70	Villettes	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	3

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Swift		*Works vol.2*	
08/11/69	Robertson	Allan	
18/11/69	Chalmers	John	
11/01/71	Drayton	Glen	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Swift		*Works vol.3*	
23/12/68	Stark	John	
16/11/69	Robertson	Allan	
12/04/70	Badenach	James	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Thomson		*Works vol.1*	
06/12/69	Playfair	James	
30/03/70	Villettes	Henry	
17/04/70	Villettes	William	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Varenius		*Geography vol.1*	
29/04/69	Bell	Andrew	
18/02/71	Jobson	John	
17/06/72	Villettes	William	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Virgil		*Works (trans. Pitt et al.) vol.3*	
18/01/69	Thomson	David	
24/02/69	M'Arthur	John	
24/07/71	Bell	Andrew	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Voltaire		*Essays on Dramatic Poetry*	
18/11/69	Mitchel	William	
07/04/70	Mitchel	William	
03/01/71	Bruce	George	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Xenophon		*Cyropaedia, Gr. Lat.*	
26/04/69	Hunter	John	
20/11/70	Singer	Archibald	
30/11/71	Ranken	Thomas	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Xenophon		*Opera, Gr. Lat.**	
22/04/69	Hunter	John	
16/11/70	Constable	Thomas	
13/01/72	Robertson	Allan	
		Number of times borrowed	3
Addison		*Spectator vol.8*	
29/04/69	M'Arthur	John	
02/08/69	Bell	Andrew	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Addison		*Works vol.3*	
07/04/70	Singer	Archibald	
15/01/71	Ranken	Thomas	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Atterbury		*Sermons vol.1*	
25/01/69	Gordon	George	
09/12/69	Jobson	John	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Atterbury		*Sermons vol.2*	
07/01/69	Gordon	George	
09/12/69	Jobson	John	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Balfour		*Delineation of Morality*	
26/01/71	Gordon	George	
23/10/71	Badenach	James	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Banier		*Mythology vol.3*	
13/02/69	Laing	Jacobus	
06/01/70	Fisher	John	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Banier		*Mythology vol.4*	
13/02/69	Laing	Jacobus	
06/01/70	Fisher	John	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Brook		*Art of Angling*	
12/04/69	Stark	John	
07/06/69	Stark	John	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Brooke		*Natural History vol.2*	
14/06/69	Stark	John	
20/11/71	Playfair	James	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Byrom		*Shorthand*	
18/02/69	Gordon	George	
05/04/69	Gordon	George	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Cheseldon		*Anatomy*	
19/11/70	Thomson	David	
28/01/72	Constable	Thomas	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Cicero		*Letters (trans. Melmoth) vol.2*	
24/02/69	Badenach	James	
04/03/69	Singer	Archibald	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Clark		*Essay on Study*	
25/01/69	Robertson	Allan	
16/03/70	Robertson	Allan	
		Number of times borrowed	2
Cocking		*Arithmetic*	
01/11/69	M'Arthur	John	
19/08/72	Bell	Andrew	
		Number of times borrowed	2

Students matriculating in 1768

Colman — *Connoisseur vol.1*

23/11/71	Mitchel	William
01/02/72	Thomson	David

Number of times borrowed 2

Colman — *Connoisseur vol.2*

23/11/71	Mitchel	William
01/02/72	Thomson	David

Number of times borrowed 2

Cudworth — *Morality*

11/03/71	Playfair	James
03/12/71	Bruce	George

Number of times borrowed 2

De Vergy — *Lovers*

13/02/71	Villettes	William
29/03/71	Villettes	Henry

Number of times borrowed 2

Defoe — *Robinson Crusoe vol.3*

20/01/70	Gillespie	William
17/12/70	Thomson	David

Number of times borrowed 2

Demosthenes — *Orationes, Gr. Lat.* *

23/01/71	Badenach	James
10/12/71	Robertson	Allan

Number of times borrowed 2

Desaguiliers — *Experimental Philosophy vol.1*

19/11/71	Bell	Andrew
19/03/72	Bell	Andrew

Number of times borrowed 2

Fielding — *Miscellanies vol.1*

07/11/69	Jobson	John
30/03/72	Playfair	James

Number of times borrowed 2

Fielding, S — *Adventures of David Simple vol.1*

29/03/70	Stark	John
03/07/71	Bell	Andrew

Number of times borrowed 2

Fielding, S — *Adventures of David Simple vol.2*

29/03/70	Stark	John
03/07/71	Bell	Andrew

Number of times borrowed 2

Fitzosborne — *Letters vol.2*

22/04/69	Badenach	James
02/04/70	Gordon	George

Number of times borrowed 2

Haywood — *Female Spectator vol.2*

17/02/70	Stark	John
23/02/70	Constable	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 2

Haywood — *Fortunate Foundlings*

16/01/71	Stewart	Alexander
04/04/71	Ranken	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 2

Herodotus — *History, Gr. Lat.*

13/01/70	Mitchel	William
27/10/70	Gordon	George

Number of times borrowed 2

Hill — *Euclid*

02/06/70	Bell	Andrew
17/12/70	Bell	Andrew

Number of times borrowed 2

Hume — *History vol.1*

11/01/71	Drayton	Glen
30/07/71	Villettes	William

Number of times borrowed 2

Hume — *History vol.2*

29/11/70	Murray	Alexander
11/11/71	Thomson	David

Number of times borrowed 2

Hume — *History vol.3*

27/10/69	Laing	Jacobus
29/11/70	Murray	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Hume — *History vol.7*

12/04/70	Laing	Jacobus
22/02/71	Murray	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Hutcheson — *Moral Philosophy vol.1*

05/12/69	M'Arthur	John
11/01/71	Drayton	Glen

Number of times borrowed 2

Le Brun — *Travels to the Levant*

04/01/69	Stark	John
06/03/71	Thomson	David

Number of times borrowed 2

Livy — *Historiae*

14/01/69	Stark	John
14/11/70	Drayton	Glen

Number of times borrowed 2

Lucian — *Dialogues, Gr.Lat.*

28/01/69	Gordon	George
03/02/72	Badenach	James

Number of times borrowed 2

Students matriculating in 1768

Lyttleton	*Dialogues of the Dead*	
20/12/68	Gordon	George
02/04/70	Gordon	George
	Number of times borrowed	2
Lyttleton	*History of Henry 2nd vol.1*	
22/02/71	Jobson	John
07/12/71	Ranken	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2
Lyttleton	*History of Henry 2nd vol.2*	
22/02/71	Jobson	John
07/12/71	Ranken	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2
Maclaurin	*Algebra*	
11/07/70	Bell	Andrew
28/12/70	Badenach	James
	Number of times borrowed	2
Macpherson	*Antiquities of the Caledonians*	
22/04/71	Robertson	Allan
31/03/72	Robertson	Allan
	Number of times borrowed	2
Mair	*Arithmetic vol.1*	
23/05/70	Bell	Andrew
30/09/72	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	2
Milton	*Paradise Regained vol.1*	
24/02/69	Laing	Jacobus
14/04/69	Jobson	John
	Number of times borrowed	2
Molière	*Plays vol.1*	
12/05/69	Stark	John
28/05/70	Villettes	William
	Number of times borrowed	2
Molière	*Plays vol.2*	
12/05/69	Stark	John
28/05/70	Villettes	William
	Number of times borrowed	2
Molière	*Plays vol.3*	
16/05/69	Stark	John
28/05/70	Villettes	William
	Number of times borrowed	2
Molière	*Plays vol.4*	
16/05/69	Stark	John
28/05/70	Villettes	William
	Number of times borrowed	2
Molière	*Plays vol.7*	
16/05/69	Stark	John
06/06/70	Villettes	William
	Number of times borrowed	2
Morgan	*Moral Philosopher vol.1*	
22/01/71	Playfair	James
29/11/71	Bruce	George
	Number of times borrowed	2
Morgan	*Moral Philosopher vol.2*	
22/01/71	Playfair	James
29/11/71	Bruce	George
	Number of times borrowed	2
n.a.	*Essays moral and critical (1747, from the French)*	
27/11/70	Singer	Archibald
19/01/71	Mitchel	William
	Number of times borrowed	2
n.a.	*Gentleman's Companion vol.1*	
05/07/69	Stark	John
28/02/70	Fisher	John
	Number of times borrowed	2
n.a.	*Gentleman's Companion vol.2*	
05/07/69	Stark	John
28/02/70	Fisher	John
	Number of times borrowed	2
n.a.	*Modern Universal History vol.1*	
13/03/69	Stark	John
09/02/71	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	2
n.a.	*Modern Universal History vol.2*	
13/03/69	Stark	John
09/02/71	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	2
n.a.	*Modern Universal History vol.3*	
20/03/69	Stark	John
21/02/71	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	2
n.a.	*Modern Universal History vol.4*	
20/02/69	Stark	John
21/02/71	Thomson	David
	Number of times borrowed	2
n.a.	*Plays vol.1 (or unspecified)*	
13/06/70	Villettes	William
16/02/71	Ranken	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2
Pluche	*Nature Display'd vol.1*	
22/03/71	Robertson	Allan
20/11/71	Playfair	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Students matriculating in 1768

Pluche *Nature Display'd vol.2*

22/03/71	Robertson	Allan
20/11/71	Playfair	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Plutarch *Lives, Eng., vol.1*

19/12/68	Crichton	James
27/01/69	Stark	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Plutarch *Lives, Eng., vol.2*

19/12/68	Crichton	James
27/01/69	Stark	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Pope *Works vol.3*

06/12/69	Laing	Jacobus
23/01/70	Stark	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Pope *Works vol.4*

06/12/69	Laing	Jacobus
23/01/70	Stark	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Pope *Works vol.5*

07/12/69	Singer	Archibald
04/01/71	Singer	Archibald
	Number of times borrowed	2

Pope *Works vol.6*

07/12/69	Singer	Archibald
04/01/71	Singer	Archibald
	Number of times borrowed	2

Quintilian *De Institutione Oratoria*

27/01/70	Playfair	James
26/01/71	Bruce	George
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin *Ancient History vol.11*

06/05/69	Jobson	John
20/11/69	Stark	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin *Ancient History vol.4*

16/12/68	Ranken	Thomas
07/02/69	Jobson	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin *Ancient History vol.6*

16/12/68	Stark	John
07/02/69	Jobson	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin *Ancient History vol.7*

17/12/68	Playfair	James
21/02/69	Jobson	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin *Ancient History vol.8*

17/12/68	Playfair	James
21/02/69	Jobson	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin *Ancient History vol.9*

16/12/68	Crichton	James
14/04/69	Jobson	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin *Belles Lettres vol.4*

13/01/70	Robertson	Allan
23/01/70	Laing	Jacobus
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rousseau *Emile vol.1*

29/04/71	Bell	Andrew
27/04/72	Robertson	Allan
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rutherforth *Natural Philosophy vol.2*

09/10/71	Bell	Andrew
08/01/72	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	2

Sallust *Works, Lat. Eng. (ed. Clark)*

30/08/69	Bell	Andrew
22/08/70	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	2

Shaftesbury *Characteristicks vol.3*

29/11/70	Playfair	James
04/01/71	Singer	Archibald
	Number of times borrowed	2

Sidney *Arcadia*

17/12/68	Stark	John
12/02/71	Murray	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Simson, Robert *Geometry*

27/12/69	Constable	Thomas
03/03/70	Jobson	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Smith, Adam *Moral Sentiments*

12/01/70	M'Arthur	John
24/10/70	Badenach	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Smollett *Peregrine Pickle vol.1*

26/12/68	Stark	John
14/01/69	Stewart	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Smollett *Peregrine Pickle vol.4*

19/01/69	Stewart	Alexander
11/10/69	Bell	Andrew
	Number of times borrowed	2

Students matriculating in 1768

Smollett — *Roderick Random vol.1*

05/05/69	M'Arthur	John
02/01/70	Stewart	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Smollett — *Roderick Random vol.2*

05/05/69	M'Arthur	John
02/01/70	Stewart	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Swift — *Poems*

07/01/69	Crichton	James
11/02/69	Singer	Archibald

Number of times borrowed 2

Swift — *Works vol.4*

16/11/69	Robertson	Allan
12/04/70	Badenach	James

Number of times borrowed 2

Swift — *Works vol.8*

18/11/69	Bruce	George
25/04/70	Playfair	James

Number of times borrowed 2

Tasso — *Jerusalem (trans. Fairfax)*

08/03/70	Stark	John
22/03/70	Ranken	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 2

Thomson — *Works vol.2*

06/12/69	Playfair	James
17/04/70	Villettes	William

Number of times borrowed 2

Turnbull — *Principles of Philosophy vol.1*

16/12/71	Playfair	James
01/02/72	Bruce	George

Number of times borrowed 2

Virgil — *Works (trans. Pitt et al.) vol.4*

18/01/69	Thomson	David
24/01/70	M'Arthur	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Voltaire — *Henriade*

13/01/70	Jobson	John
29/01/71	Villettes	Henry

Number of times borrowed 2

Voltaire — *Siècle de Louis XIV*

30/10/69	Makdougall	Henry
08/01/71	Villettes	William

Number of times borrowed 2

Watts — *Logick*

27/10/70	Gordon	George
28/02/71	Villettes	William

Number of times borrowed 2

Wharton — *Essay on Pope*

06/12/69	Gordon	George
19/02/70	Badenach	James

Number of times borrowed 2

Wingate — *Arithmetic*

14/11/70	Bell	Andrew
11/09/71	Bell	Andrew

Number of times borrowed 2

Xenophon — *Memorable Things of Socrates*

05/12/69	M'Arthur	John
08/02/70	M'Arthur	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Addison — *Beauties of the Spectator vol.1*

19/04/71	Constable	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 1

Addison — *Works vol.4*

30/10/69	Makdougall	Henry

Number of times borrowed 1

Aesop — *Fables, Eng.*

08/03/69	Ranken	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 1

Aesop — *Fables, Gr. Lat.*

07/03/69	Ranken	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 1

Aesop — *Fables, Gr. Latin*

25/01/70	Thomson	David

Number of times borrowed 1

Anacreon — *Carmina (trans. Addison)*

17/04/70	Ranken	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 1

Anacreon — *Carmina, Gr. Latin*

28/03/70	Ranken	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 1

Antoninus — *Meditations, Gr. Lat.*

15/01/71	Constable	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 1

Ariosto — *Orlando Furioso, It. Engl., vol.1*

21/04/70	Stark	John

Number of times borrowed 1

Ariosto — *Orlando Furioso, It. Engl., vol.2*

02/05/70	Stark	John

Number of times borrowed 1

Aristotle — *Opera, Gr. Latin*

01/02/72	Thomson	David

Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1768

Arrianus — *Alexander's Expedition (trans. Rooke) vol.1*
08/12/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Arrianus — *Alexander's Expedition (trans. Rooke) vol.2*
08/12/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Balguy — *Tracts*
16/12/71 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Banier — *Mythology vol.2*
15/12/68 Gordon George
Number of times borrowed 1

Barclay — *Greek Rudiments*
09/11/70 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Baxter — *Maths vol.1*
28/01/71 Jobson John
Number of times borrowed 1

Baxter — *Maths vol.2*
28/01/71 Jobson John
Number of times borrowed 1

Bell — *Travels vol.1*
13/01/69 Robertson Allan
Number of times borrowed 1

Bell — *Travels vol.2*
16/01/69 Robertson Allan
Number of times borrowed 1

Beza — *Novum Testamentum, Gr. Latin*
23/01/69 Stewart Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Blackwell — *Life of Homer*
24/03/69 Laing Jacobus
Number of times borrowed 1

Bocalini — *Advertisements from Parnassus*
22/03/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Bolingbroke — *Letters on History vol.1*
21/03/70 Hunter John
Number of times borrowed 1

Bolingbroke — *Letters on History vol.2*
21/03/70 Hunter John
Number of times borrowed 1

Bolingbroke — *Works vol.1*
07/03/72 Bruce George
Number of times borrowed 1

Bolingbroke — *Works vol.2*
07/03/72 Bruce George
Number of times borrowed 1

Bolingbroke — *Works vol.3*
14/03/72 Mitchel William
Number of times borrowed 1

Bolingbroke — *Works vol.4*
14/03/72 Mitchel William
Number of times borrowed 1

Bragge — *Regulation of the Passions*
30/01/71 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Brooke — *Fool of Quality vol.5*
05/11/71 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Brooke — *Natural History vol.5*
30/11/71 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Brooke — *Natural History vol.6*
30/11/71 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Brown — *Essay on the Characteristicks*
27/03/69 Mitchel William
Number of times borrowed 1

Burgh — *Dignity of Human Nature*
15/03/71 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Caesar — *Commentarii*
25/01/69 Hunter John
Number of times borrowed 1

Callender — *Voyages vol.1*
18/02/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Campbell, A. — *Moral Virtue*
29/03/71 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Chambaud — *French Rudiments*
16/09/72 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Charlevoix — *Histoire du Paraguay vol.1*
16/02/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1768

Charlevoix *Histoire du Paraguay vol.2*
16/02/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Cicero *Epistles (trans. Middleton)*
22/12/68 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Cicero *Epistolae*
12/12/71 Ranken Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Cicero *Opera vol.1*
10/01/71 Badenach James
Number of times borrowed 1

Cicero *Opera vol.3*
11/03/69 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Cicero *Opera vol.7*
11/03/69 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Clarendon *Life vol.1*
05/12/70 Drayton Glen
Number of times borrowed 1

Clarendon *Life vol.2*
05/12/70 Drayton Glen
Number of times borrowed 1

Clarendon *Life vol.3*
05/12/70 Drayton Glen
Number of times borrowed 1

Clark *Attributes of God*
07/01/72 Bruce George
Number of times borrowed 1

Collier *Art of Tormenting*
27/11/70 Murray Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Collier *Moral Essays*
26/01/71 Mitchel William
Number of times borrowed 1

Congreve *Works vol.1*
04/11/69 Ranken Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Congreve *Works vol.2*
04/11/69 Ranken Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Corneille *Oeuvres vol.1*
07/06/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Corneille *Oeuvres vol.2*
07/06/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Cotes *Lectures*
04/02/71 Jobson John
Number of times borrowed 1

Cummings *Elements of Clockwork*
28/08/71 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Cunningham *Poems*
25/07/70 Drayton Glen
Number of times borrowed 1

Daniel *History of France vol.1*
14/02/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Daniel *History of France vol.2*
14/02/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Defoe *Lives of the Pirates*
14/04/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Defoe *Moll Flanders*
21/03/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Defoe *Robinson Crusoe vol.1*
01/12/70 Thomson David
Number of times borrowed 1

Defoe *Robinson Crusoe vol.2*
01/12/70 Thomson David
Number of times borrowed 1

Desaguiliers *Experimental Philosophy vol.2*
11/02/72 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Donn *Natural and Experimental Philosophy*
19/11/71 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Dossie *Handmaid to the Arts*
20/01/70 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Drummond, Alexan *Travels*
19/01/71 Makdougall Henry
Number of times borrowed 1

Du Halde *History of China vol.1*
07/01/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1768

Du Halde — *History of China vol.2*
07/01/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Du Halde — *History of China vol.3*
12/01/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Du Halde — *History of China vol.4*
12/01/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Duff, Rev. W. — *Essay on Original Genius*
16/03/71 Mitchel William
Number of times borrowed 1

Ellis — *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*
05/02/71 Thomson David
Number of times borrowed 1

Elphiston — *English Grammar*
27/02/69 Mitchel William
Number of times borrowed 1

Emerson — *Mechanics*
23/11/70 Mackenzie John
Number of times borrowed 1

Ferguson, James — *Astronomy*
30/09/72 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Fielding — *Joseph Andrews vol.2*
20/11/69 Constable Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Fielding — *Miscellanies vol.2*
30/03/72 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Fielding — *Miscellanies vol.3*
13/04/72 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Fielding — *Tom Jones vol.6*
14/01/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Fitzosborne — *Letters vol.1*
02/04/70 Gordon George
Number of times borrowed 1

Fletcher — *Universal Measurer*
05/03/72 Thomson David
Number of times borrowed 1

Fordyce, James — *Sermons vol.1*
22/01/71 Jobson John
Number of times borrowed 1

Fordyce, James — *Sermons vol.2*
22/01/71 Jobson John
Number of times borrowed 1

Gessner — *Death of Abel*
22/02/71 Murray Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Glover — *Leonidas**
15/04/71 Thomson David
Number of times borrowed 1

Gordon — *Accomptant**
06/05/72 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Gordon — *Counting House*
02/11/69 Mitchel William
Number of times borrowed 1

Gravesande — *Perspective*
05/11/71 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Gray — *Land Measuring*
16/09/72 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Green — *Principles of Philosophy*
09/11/71 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Greenwood — *English Grammar*
25/11/69 Hunter John
Number of times borrowed 1

Hamilton — *Account of the East Indies vol.1*
21/04/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Hamilton — *Account of the East Indies vol.2*
21/04/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Hapalquist — *Travels to the Levant*
26/01/71 Thomson David
Number of times borrowed 1

Harris — *Life of Cromwell*
28/02/71 Robertson Allan
Number of times borrowed 1

Harris — *Navigations*
11/07/71 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1768

Harris, James — *Hermes, or Universal Grammar*
03/11/69 Hunter — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Haywood — *Female Spectator vol.3*
21/02/70 Stark — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Haywood — *Female Spectator vol.4*
21/02/70 Stark — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Haywood — *Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy vol.1*
13/04/71 Ranken — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Haywood — *Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy vol.2*
13/04/71 Ranken — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Haywood — *Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy vol.3*
13/04/71 Ranken — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Herodotus — *Opera, Gr. Lat.*
13/03/72 Robertson — Allan
Number of times borrowed 1

Hervey — *Meditations vol.1*
23/02/70 Villettes — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Hervey — *Meditations vol.2*
23/02/70 Villettes — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Hodgson — *English Grammar*
19/11/71 Mitchel — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Homer — *Iliad, Gk. Lat.(ed. Clark), vol.2*
20/01/70 Bruce — George
Number of times borrowed 1

Hooke — *Roman Senate*
05/01/69 Crichton — James
Number of times borrowed 1

Horace — *Epistolae ad Pisones vol.1*
23/12/69 Gordon — George
Number of times borrowed 1

Horace — *Epistolae ad Pisones vol.2*
23/12/69 Gordon — George
Number of times borrowed 1

Horace — *Works (ed. Hanway)*
18/04/69 Laing — Jacobus
Number of times borrowed 1

Hume — *Essays vol.2*
19/11/71 Villettes — Henry
Number of times borrowed 1

Hume — *History vol.4*
11/01/71 Murray — Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Hume — *History vol.5*
13/02/71 Murray — Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Hume — *History vol.8*
22/02/71 Murray — Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Hume — *Principles of Morals*
28/12/71 Mitchel — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Hutcheson — *Moral Philosophy vol.2*
01/11/69 M'Arthur — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Jeffery — *History of Spanish Settlements*
10/02/69 Stark — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Johnson, S., D.D. — *Elements of Philosophy*
28/12/71 Mitchel — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Jones — *Description of the Sector*
05/06/71 Bell — Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Jonson — *Works vol.1*
16/08/69 Stark — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Jonson — *Works vol.2*
16/08/69 Stark — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Jonson — *Works vol.3*
23/08/69 Stark — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Jonson — *Works vol.4*
23/08/69 Stark — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Justinus — *Works (trans. Clark)*
06/03/71 Constable — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1768

Knight *Life of Erasmus**
22/03/69 M'Arthur John
Number of times borrowed 1

Langley *Practical Geometry*
31/01/72 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Lind *Scurvy*
15/07/72 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Locke *Thoughts concerning Education*
20/03/70 Mitchel William
Number of times borrowed 1

Mackenzie, George *Lives of Scots Writers*
27/04/70 Laing Jacobus
Number of times borrowed 1

Maclaurin *Fluxions vol.1*
05/08/72 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Maclaurin *Fluxions vol.2*
05/08/72 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Mair *Arithmetic vol.2*
23/05/70 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Malebranche *Search after Truth vol.1*
15/03/70 Mackenzie John
Number of times borrowed 1

Malebranche *Search after Truth vol.2*
15/03/70 Mackenzie John
Number of times borrowed 1

Marivaux *Vie de Marianne vol.1*
19/07/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Marivaux *Vie de Marianne vol.2*
19/07/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Marivaux *Vie de Marianne vol.3*
26/07/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Marivaux *Vie de Marianne vol.4*
26/07/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Marmontel *Tales vol.1*
17/04/71 Murray Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Massey *Travels*
05/04/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Massillon *Sermons**
21/03/72 Villettes William
Number of times borrowed 1

Middleton *Life of Cicero vol.1*
23/12/69 Badenach James
Number of times borrowed 1

Milton *Index to Paradise Lost*
23/02/70 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Milton *Paradise Regained vol.2*
01/03/69 Laing Jacobus
Number of times borrowed 1

Milton/Richardson *Notes on Paradise Lost*
21/02/71 Bruce George
Number of times borrowed 1

Molière *Plays vol.8*
16/05/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Montaigne *Essays vol.2*
29/03/71 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Montaigne *Essays vol.3*
29/03/71 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Montaigne *Essays vol.1*
29/03/71 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Mottraye *Travels vol.1*
18/01/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Muller *Fluxions*
17/04/71 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Muller *Mathematics*
07/05/71 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Arabian Nights vol.1*
17/03/72 Thomson David
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Arabian Nights vol.2*
17/03/72 Thomson David
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1768

n.a. *Arabian Nights vol.3*
26/03/72 Thomson David
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Arabian Nights vol.4*
26/03/72 Thomson David
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Art of Letter-writing*
08/04/71 Robertson Allan
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Edinburgh Essays*
06/03/71 Murray Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Fables and Tales*
09/02/69 Fisher John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Lady's Drawing Room*
19/02/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Leonora vol.1*
23/02/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Leonora vol.2*
23/02/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Life of Harriet Stuart*
14/03/71 Ranken Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Memoirs of L.S.R.(?)*
19/11/71 Villettes Henry
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.16*
29/04/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.17*
13/05/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.25*
29/04/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.32*
11/07/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.33*
11/07/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.34*
02/08/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.35*
02/08/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.38*
09/08/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.39*
09/08/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.40*
16/08/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.41*
16/08/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.44*
23/08/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.6*
17/04/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.7*
17/04/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Pamphlets vol.1*
20/01/70 Hunter John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Pamphlets vol.2*
20/01/70 Hunter John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Trial of Lord Lovat*
27/04/69 M'Arthur John
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1768

n.a. *Universal History vol.11*
15/02/72 Stewart Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.12*
15/02/72 Stewart Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.13*
17/02/72 Stewart Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.14*
17/02/72 Stewart Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.15*
29/02/72 Stewart Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.16*
29/02/72 Stewart Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.17*
14/03/72 Stewart Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.18*
14/03/72 Stewart Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.19*
20/03/72 Stewart Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.20*
20/03/72 Stewart Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.4*
13/02/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.5*
13/02/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.6*
13/02/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.7*
18/02/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.8*
18/02/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Newton *System of the World*
09/11/70 Singer Archibald
Number of times borrowed 1

Nugent *Travels vol.1*
23/02/71 Robertson Allan
Number of times borrowed 1

Nugent *Travels vol.2*
23/02/71 Robertson Allan
Number of times borrowed 1

Orme *History of Indostan*
14/03/71 Robertson Allan
Number of times borrowed 1

Paltock *Peter Wilkins vol.1*
28/02/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Paltock *Peter Wilkins vol.2*
28/02/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Phalaris *Epistles (trans. Franklin)*
02/11/69 Badenach James
Number of times borrowed 1

Pindar *Odes (trans. West)*
27/04/69 Gordon George
Number of times borrowed 1

Plato *Dialogues, Eng., vol.1*
16/02/70 Singer Archibald
Number of times borrowed 1

Plato *Dialogues, Eng., vol.2*
16/02/70 Singer Archibald
Number of times borrowed 1

Pliny *Letters (trans. Melmoth) vol.1*
31/03/69 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Pliny *Letters (trans. Melmoth) vol.2*
31/03/69 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Pliny *Panegyricus*
10/03/72 Badenach James
Number of times borrowed 1

Polybius *Histories, Gr. Lat.*
18/01/72 Badenach James
Number of times borrowed 1

Pope *Letters vol.1*
26/01/71 Villettes William
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1768

Potter *Antiquities of Greece vol.1*
15/02/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Potter *Antiquities of Greece vol.2*
15/02/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Prideaux *Life of Mohammed*
29/03/70 Thomson David
Number of times borrowed 1

Prince *Chronology*
15/04/71 Thomson David
Number of times borrowed 1

Ramsay, Andrew *Travels of Cyrus vol.1*
20/12/70 Hunter John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.1*
25/01/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.10*
10/03/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.11*
10/03/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.12*
21/03/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.13*
21/03/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.14*
29/03/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.15*
29/03/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.2*
25/01/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.5*
30/01/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.6*
30/01/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.7*
07/02/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.8*
07/02/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rapin *History of England vol.9*
15/02/70 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Richardson *Pamela vol.1*
14/03/69 Laing Jacobus
Number of times borrowed 1

Richardson *Pamela vol.3*
14/03/69 Laing Jacobus
Number of times borrowed 1

Richardson *Pamela vol.4*
14/03/69 Laing Jacobus
Number of times borrowed 1

Robertson *History of Ancient Greece*
20/02/71 Stewart Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Ancient History vol.1*
28/01/69 Jobson John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Ancient History vol.10*
16/12/68 Crichton James
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Ancient History vol.12*
25/11/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Ancient History vol.13*
25/11/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Ancient History vol.2*
28/01/69 Jobson John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Ancient History vol.3*
16/12/68 Ranken Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Ancient History vol.5*
16/12/68 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Belles Lettres vol.1*
21/04/70 Bruce George
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1768

Rollin *Belles Lettres vol.2*
21/04/70 Bruce George
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Roman History vol.10*
04/02/72 Stewart Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Roman History vol.2*
28/01/69 Chalmers John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Roman History vol.3*
17/12/68 Singer Archibald
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Roman History vol.4*
17/12/68 Singer Archibald
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Roman History vol.8*
13/01/72 Stewart Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Roman History vol.9*
13/01/72 Stewart Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Rolt *History of South America*
21/01/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Rousseau *Emile vol.2*
29/04/71 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Rousseau *Emile vol.3*
07/05/71 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Rousseau *Emile vol.4*
07/05/71 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Rowe *Letters from the Dead*
07/02/69 Crichton James
Number of times borrowed 1

Rowe *Works vol.1*
25/01/69 Crichton James
Number of times borrowed 1

Rowe *Works vol.2*
25/01/69 Crichton James
Number of times borrowed 1

Rowland *Antiquities of Anglesey*
19/01/71 Makdougall Henry
Number of times borrowed 1

Sallust *Opera (ed. Wassius)*
08/02/69 Hunter John
Number of times borrowed 1

Scheffer *History of Lapland*
07/01/69 Crichton James
Number of times borrowed 1

Scott *Gardener's Director*
28/12/70 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Shakespeare *Works vol.3*
06/01/70 Hunter John
Number of times borrowed 1

Shakespeare *Works vol.7*
23/11/70 Badenach James
Number of times borrowed 1

Shaw *Reflector*
01/05/70 Constable Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Shaw *Travels*
05/01/69 Crichton James
Number of times borrowed 1

Sheridan *Plan of Education*
08/04/71 Mitchel William
Number of times borrowed 1

Sherlock *Discourses vol.1*
11/02/72 Villettes William
Number of times borrowed 1

Simson, Robert *Conick Sections*
27/12/70 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Simson, Robert *Euclid*
13/11/69 M'Arthur John
Number of times borrowed 1

Smith *History of New York*
29/03/71 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Smollett *History of England vol.12*
03/08/72 Villettes William
Number of times borrowed 1

Smollett *History of England vol.13*
03/08/72 Villettes William
Number of times borrowed 1

Smollett *History of England vol.9*
04/03/72 Villettes William
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1768

Smollett — *Peregrine Pickle vol.3*
26/12/68 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Somerville — *Chace, a poem*
26/01/71 Makdougall Henry
Number of times borrowed 1

Steele — *English Grammar*
25/11/69 Hunter John
Number of times borrowed 1

Steele — *Miscellanies*
12/03/71 Mitchel William
Number of times borrowed 1

Stewart — *Propositiones Geometricae*
15/03/71 Makdougall Henry
Number of times borrowed 1

Strahlenberg — *Description of Siberia*
07/11/69 Stark John
Number of times borrowed 1

Stukely — *Itinerarium Curiosum*
11/01/71 Murray Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Suetonius — *Twelve Caesars, Lat. Eng. (ed. Clark)*
28/01/69 Bruce George
Number of times borrowed 1

Tacitus — *Works (trans. Gordon) vol.1*
16/11/70 Mitchel William
Number of times borrowed 1

Tacitus — *Works (trans. Gordon) vol.3*
23/05/70 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Theocritus — *Opera, Gr. Lat.*
18/03/69 Hunter John
Number of times borrowed 1

Thomson — *Liberty, a poem*
02/02/71 Thomson David
Number of times borrowed 1

Thucydides — *De Bello Peloponnesiaco, Lat.*
07/01/69 Mitchel William
Number of times borrowed 1

Townsend — *Conquest of Mexico*
17/04/71 Makdougall Henry
Number of times borrowed 1

Turnbull — *Principles of Philosophy vol.2*
16/12/71 Playfair James
Number of times borrowed 1

Varenius — *Geography vol.2*
18/02/71 Jobson John
Number of times borrowed 1

Vertot — *Histoire des Revolutions vol.1*
30/05/70 Drayton Glen
Number of times borrowed 1

Vertot — *Histoire des Revolutions vol.2*
30/05/70 Drayton Glen
Number of times borrowed 1

Vertot — *Histoire des Revolutions vol.3*
30/05/70 Drayton Glen
Number of times borrowed 1

Vertot — *Salic Law*
30/05/70 Drayton Glen
Number of times borrowed 1

Victa — *Opera Mathematica*
02/08/72 Bell Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Vida — *Art of Poetry (trans.Pitt)*
20/02/70 Gordon George
Number of times borrowed 1

Virgil — *Works (trans. Andrews)*
17/12/68 Fisher John
Number of times borrowed 1

Virgil — *Works (trans. Pitt et al.) vol.1*
24/02/69 M'Arthur John
Number of times borrowed 1

Virgil — *Works (trans. Pitt et al.) vol.2*
24/01/69 M'Arthur John
Number of times borrowed 1

Voltaire — *Essai sur l'Histoire vol.1*
07/11/69 Jobson John
Number of times borrowed 1

Voltaire — *Essai sur l'Histoire vol.2*
07/11/69 Jobson John
Number of times borrowed 1

Voltaire — *Histoire de Russie vol.1*
29/01/71 Villettes Henry
Number of times borrowed 1

Voltaire — *Histoire de Russie vol.2*
29/01/71 Villettes Henry
Number of times borrowed 1

Watts — *Improvement of the Mind*
28/03/71 Villettes William
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1768

Watts		*Works vol.5*	
28/03/71	Villettes	William	
	Number of times borrowed		1
Wilkie		*Epigoniad*	
11/03/71	Villettes	Henry	
	Number of times borrowed		1
Wilkie		*Fables*	
11/03/71	Villettes	Henry	
	Number of times borrowed		1
Williams		*Letters between an English etc. vol.1*	
30/11/71	Villettes	Henry	
	Number of times borrowed		1
Williams		*Letters between an English etc. vol.2*	
30/11/71	Villettes	Henry	
	Number of times borrowed		1
Wilson		*Arithmetic*	
25/10/70	Ranken	Thomas	
	Number of times borrowed		1
Xenophon		*Anabasis*	
26/10/69	Hunter	John	
	Number of times borrowed		1

Students matriculating in 1773

Plutarch — *Lives, Eng., vol.4*

04/11/73	Constable	William
13/12/73	Rollo	George
21/01/74	Brown	John
19/02/74	Bennet	George
26/02/74	Mitchell	James
08/03/74	Smith	Donald
13/02/75	M'ara	Robert
07/02/76	M'ara	Robert
19/02/76	Matheson	Colin
	Number of times borrowed	9

Addison — *Works vol.2*

26/02/74	Bennet	George
17/03/74	Rollo	George
26/10/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
08/11/74	Wilkie	James
31/10/75	Grant	Andrew
30/11/75	Mitchell	James
28/12/75	Manson	John
08/04/76	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	8

Harris, James — *Hermes, or Universal Grammar*

22/10/74	Brown	John
27/10/74	Smith	Donald
25/11/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
07/12/74	Mitchell	James
15/04/75	Bennet	George
31/10/75	Rait	John
12/02/76	Bennet	George
29/05/76	Bennet	George
	Number of times borrowed	8

Hawkesworth — *Adventurer vol.3*

21/02/74	Smith	Donald
22/03/74	Hunter	Robert
26/04/74	Constable	William
18/03/75	Macfarlane	Alexander
10/05/75	Rait	John
01/12/75	Rollo	George
20/12/75	Wilkie	James
08/02/76	Whinfield	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	8

Robertson — *History of Ancient Greece*

30/10/73	Rollo	George
03/12/73	Manson	John
17/02/74	Brown	John
30/04/74	Smith	Donald
07/11/74	Grant	James
30/11/74	Matheson	Colin
29/04/75	Grant	Andrew
13/12/76	Rollo	George
	Number of times borrowed	8

Robertson, William — *History of Scotland vol.1*

18/12/73	Macfarlane	Alexander
24/03/74	Brown	John
05/05/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
27/10/74	Manson	John
13/12/74	Murray	Thomas
04/02/75	M'ara	Robert
06/09/75	Hunter	Robert
13/11/76	Rait	John
	Number of times borrowed	8

Robertson, William — *History of Scotland vol.2*

18/12/73	Macfarlane	Alexander
24/03/74	Brown	John
05/05/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
27/10/74	Manson	John
13/12/74	Murray	Thomas
04/02/75	M'ara	Robert
06/09/75	Hunter	Robert
13/11/76	Rait	John
	Number of times borrowed	8

Smith, Adam — *Moral Sentiments*

30/03/75	Murray	Thomas
18/10/75	Smith	Donald
11/11/75	Macfarlane	Alexander
22/12/75	M'ara	Robert
27/01/76	Hird	James
11/03/76	Constable	William
25/04/76	Rollo	George
18/09/76	Bennet	George
	Number of times borrowed	8

Addison — *Spectator vol.4*

25/11/73	Macfarlane	Alexander
24/01/74	Moodie	William
20/04/74	Hunter	Robert
26/10/74	Rollo	George
21/01/75	Hird	James
30/11/75	Hunter	Robert
16/03/76	Rait	John
	Number of times borrowed	7

Addison — *Works vol.1*

25/02/74	Bennet	George
05/03/74	Rollo	George
24/10/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
04/11/74	Bennet	George
26/10/75	Grant	Andrew
04/12/75	Manson	John
14/11/76	Wilkie	James
	Number of times borrowed	7

Students matriculating in 1773

Goldsmith	*History of England vol.1*	
13/11/73	Brown	John
13/12/73	Groves	John
06/01/74	Smith	Donald
08/03/74	Brown	John
16/04/74	Grant	Andrew
20/09/75	Hunter	Robert
17/02/76	Murray	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	7

Hawkesworth	*Adventurer vol.1*	
22/03/74	Hunter	Robert
09/04/74	Constable	William
30/04/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
03/03/75	Hird	James
02/05/75	Rait	John
01/11/75	Wilkie	James
30/01/76	Whinfield	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	7

Hawkesworth	*Adventurer vol.2*	
22/03/74	Hunter	Robert
09/04/74	Constable	William
30/04/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
03/03/75	Hird	James
02/05/75	Rait	John
01/11/75	Wilkie	James
30/01/76	Whinfield	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	7

Hawkesworth	*Adventurer vol.4*	
21/02/74	Smith	Donald
08/04/74	Hunter	Robert
18/04/75	Macfarlane	Alexander
10/05/75	Rait	John
01/12/75	Rollo	George
22/12/75	Wilkie	James
08/02/76	Whinfield	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	7

Hooke	*Roman History vol. 1*	
01/11/73	Hird	James
25/11/73	Mitchell	James
04/12/73	Constable	William
19/01/74	Hunter	Robert
04/04/74	Brown	John
01/06/74	Hunter	Robert
10/08/74	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	7

Nettleton	*Virtue and Happiness*	
27/10/75	Murray	Thomas
07/11/75	Rollo	George
15/01/76	Constable	William
20/02/76	Hird	James
28/10/76	Whinfield	Henry
25/11/76	Wilkie	James
22/03/77	Wilkie	James
	Number of times borrowed	7

Plutarch	*Lives, Eng., vol.1*	
04/11/73	Moodie	William
09/11/73	Rollo	George
23/12/73	M'ara	Robert
21/02/74	Smith	Donald
19/04/74	Wilkie	James
06/12/74	Murray	Thomas
22/02/76	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	7

Plutarch	*Lives, Eng., vol.2*	
04/11/73	Moodie	William
09/11/73	Rollo	George
23/12/73	M'ara	Robert
21/02/74	Smith	Donald
19/04/74	Wilkie	James
06/12/74	Murray	Thomas
14/02/76	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	7

Plutarch	*Lives, Eng., vol.3*	
04/11/73	Constable	William
13/12/73	Rollo	George
21/01/74	Brown	John
19/02/74	Bennet	George
26/02/74	Mitchell	James
13/02/75	M'ara	Robert
14/02/76	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	7

Rollin	*Ancient History vol.12*	
21/12/73	Bennet	George
07/02/74	Hunter	Robert
18/04/74	Bennet	George
21/02/75	Bennet	George
31/10/75	Moodie	William
15/01/76	Macfarlane	Alexander
01/03/77	Murray	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	7

Addison	*Spectator vol.2*	
25/03/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
20/04/74	Hunter	Robert
24/10/74	Smith	Donald
14/01/75	Macfarlane	Alexander
15/03/75	Constable	William
30/11/75	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	6

Goldsmith	*History of England vol.4*	
30/10/73	Moodie	Charles
07/01/74	Groves	John
18/01/74	Smith	Donald
30/04/74	Smith	Donald
11/10/75	Hunter	Robert
29/10/76	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	6

Students matriculating in 1773

Hume	*Essays Moral and Political*	
24/02/75	Wilkie	James
01/02/76	Bennet	George
09/03/76	Constable	William
12/04/76	Rollo	George
26/04/76	Murray	Thomas
26/10/76	Murray	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	6

Johnson, Samuel	*Rambler vol.1*	
29/01/74	Hunter	Robert
21/02/74	Constable	William
30/04/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
26/10/74	Mitchell	James
18/03/75	Rollo	George
28/11/76	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	6

Kames	*Elements of Criticism vol.1*	
22/10/74	Brown	John
31/10/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
25/11/74	Smith	Donald
06/12/74	Rollo	George
06/01/75	Mitchell	James
08/11/75	Murray	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	6

Kames	*Elements of Criticism vol.2*	
22/10/74	Brown	John
31/10/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
25/11/74	Smith	Donald
06/12/74	Rollo	George
06/01/75	Mitchell	James
08/11/75	Murray	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	6

Ossian	*Fingal*	
15/04/74	Smith	Donald
28/10/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
22/03/75	Constable	William
18/04/75	Hunter	Robert
06/03/76	Wilkie	James
03/07/76	Bennet	George
	Number of times borrowed	6

Plutarch	*Lives, Eng., vol.5*	
06/11/73	M'ara	Robert
19/11/73	Mitchell	James
29/01/74	Rollo	George
26/03/74	Brown	John
22/02/75	M'ara	Robert
07/02/76	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	6

Reid	*Enquiry into the Human Mind*	
09/11/75	Hird	James
01/01/76	Murray	Thomas
08/02/76	Macfarlane	Alexander
29/02/76	Constable	William
18/03/76	Hird	James
21/12/76	Wilkie	James
	Number of times borrowed	6

Rollin	*Ancient History vol.1*	
13/12/73	Mitchell	James
04/01/74	Tod	David
04/02/74	Brown	John
04/04/74	Brown	John
28/03/75	Rollo	George
24/05/75	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	6

Rollin	*Ancient History vol.4*	
13/12/73	Mitchell	James
04/01/74	Tod	David
04/02/74	Brown	John
19/03/74	Mitchell	James
28/03/75	Rollo	George
01/01/76	Whinfield	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	6

Addison	*Spectator vol.3*	
25/11/73	Macfarlane	Alexander
24/01/74	Moodie	William
20/04/74	Hunter	Robert
26/10/74	Rollo	George
16/03/76	Rait	John
	Number of times borrowed	5

Addison	*Works vol.4*	
02/03/74	Bennet	George
07/04/74	Rollo	George
26/10/74	Rollo	George
09/03/75	Hird	James
14/11/76	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	5

Bolingbroke	*Letters on History vol.1*	
30/11/74	Rollo	George
17/03/75	Matheson	Colin
03/04/75	Manson	John
04/09/76	Bennet	George
20/11/76	Rollo	George
	Number of times borrowed	5

Bolingbroke	*Letters on History vol.2*	
30/11/74	Rollo	George
17/03/75	Matheson	Colin
03/04/75	Manson	John
18/09/76	Bennet	George
20/11/76	Rollo	George
	Number of times borrowed	5

Students matriculating in 1773

Duff, Rev. W.	*Essay on Original Genius*	
21/12/73	Milne	James
23/02/75	Constable	William
22/03/75	Grant	Andrew
03/04/75	Rollo	George
05/02/76	Whinfield	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	5

Fitzosborne	*Letters vol.1*	
16/11/74	Hird	James
21/12/74	Wilkie	James
08/02/75	Murray	Thomas
31/12/75	Constable	William
24/01/76	Hird	James
	Number of times borrowed	5

Goldsmith	*History of England vol.2*	
13/12/73	Groves	John
06/01/74	Smith	Donald
08/03/74	Brown	John
16/04/74	Grant	Andrew
20/09/75	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	5

Goldsmith	*History of England vol.3*	
30/10/73	Moodie	Charles
07/01/74	Groves	John
18/01/74	Smith	Donald
11/10/75	Hunter	Robert
29/10/76	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	5

Hume	*History vol.7*	
29/01/74	Smith	Donald
31/01/75	Murray	Thomas
28/04/75	Matheson	Colin
22/12/75	M'ara	Robert
21/02/77	Rait	John
	Number of times borrowed	5

Johnson, Samuel	*Rambler vol.2*	
29/01/74	Hunter	Robert
21/02/74	Constable	William
30/04/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
26/10/74	Mitchell	James
18/03/75	Rollo	George
	Number of times borrowed	5

Kames	*Elements of Criticism vol.3*	
27/10/74	Smith	Donald
25/11/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
07/12/74	Mitchell	James
08/01/75	Rollo	George
12/01/75	Bennet	George
	Number of times borrowed	5

Plutarch	*Lives, Eng., vol.6*	
06/11/73	M'ara	Robert
19/11/73	Mitchell	James
29/01/74	Rollo	George
26/03/74	Brown	John
22/02/75	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	5

Pope	*Works vol.1*	
24/01/74	Brown	John
04/11/74	Hunter	Robert
07/12/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
14/03/75	Rollo	George
18/12/75	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	5

Ray	*History of 1745 Rebellion*	
04/01/74	Smith	Donald
28/02/74	Grant	Andrew
04/03/74	Murray	Thomas
21/01/75	M'ara	Robert
28/10/75	Fraser	James
	Number of times borrowed	5

Shaftesbury	*Characteristicks vol.2*	
03/10/75	Macfarlane	Alexander
01/01/76	Murray	Thomas
05/03/76	Bennet	George
08/11/76	Manson	John
15/01/77	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	5

Steele	*Guardian vol.1*	
03/11/73	Brown	John
11/01/74	Bennet	George
05/03/74	Hunter	Robert
19/04/74	Smith	Donald
16/02/75	Hird	James
	Number of times borrowed	5

Swift	*Works vol.1*	
11/12/73	Wilkie	James
14/12/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
06/01/75	Smith	Donald
09/01/75	M'ara	Robert
24/02/75	Rollo	George
	Number of times borrowed	5

Ward	*Oratory vol.1*	
24/10/74	Constable	William
31/01/75	Macfarlane	Alexander
23/11/75	Constable	William
06/12/75	Rollo	George
22/04/76	Whinfield	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	5

Students matriculating in 1773

Ward	*Oratory vol.2*	
24/10/74	Constable	William
31/01/75	Macfarlane	Alexander
23/11/75	Constable	William
06/12/75	Rollo	George
22/04/76	Whinfield	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	5

Addison	*Beauties of the Spectator vol.1*	
04/03/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
29/10/74	Manson	John
06/12/74	Constable	William
15/03/75	Macfarlane	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	4

Addison	*Beauties of the Spectator vol.2*	
04/03/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
29/10/74	Manson	John
06/12/74	Constable	William
15/03/75	Macfarlane	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	4

Addison	*Spectator vol.5*	
08/11/73	Macfarlane	Alexander
09/12/73	Brown	John
24/01/74	Grant	James
21/01/75	Hird	James
	Number of times borrowed	4

Addison	*Spectator vol.6*	
08/11/73	Macfarlane	Alexander
09/12/73	Brown	John
24/01/74	Grant	James
21/12/74	Hird	James
	Number of times borrowed	4

Beattie	*Essay on Truth*	
11/12/75	Rollo	George
13/12/75	Macfarlane	Alexander
13/03/76	Bennet	George
01/03/77	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	4

Dodsley	*Preceptor vol.2*	
26/10/74	Rollo	George
27/10/75	Murray	Thomas
02/12/75	Constable	William
18/12/75	Murray	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	4

Hume	*History vol.2*	
14/12/74	Brown	John
26/07/75	Smith	Donald
30/11/75	Matheson	Colin
05/12/75	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	4

Hume	*History vol.8*	
29/01/74	Smith	Donald
31/01/75	Murray	Thomas
28/04/75	Matheson	Colin
08/03/77	Rait	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

Johnson, Samuel	*Rambler vol.3*	
29/01/74	Hunter	Robert
21/03/74	Constable	William
24/03/75	Rollo	George
28/11/76	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	4

Locke	*Essay on Human Understanding*	
20/01/75	Rollo	George
14/11/75	Grant	Andrew
18/12/75	Murray	Thomas
26/12/76	Manson	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

Maclaurin	*Algebra*	
16/11/73	Manson	John
22/02/74	Hird	James
30/03/74	Smith	Donald
16/03/76	Murray	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	4

Monboddo	*Origin of Language**	
21/02/76	Manson	John
23/02/76	Wilkie	James
24/02/76	Macfarlane	Alexander
01/02/77	Manson	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

n.a.	*Arabian Nights vol.1*	
26/11/73	Matheson	Colin
22/01/74	M'ara	Robert
17/03/74	Mitchell	James
11/05/74	Moodie	William
	Number of times borrowed	4

Ossian	*Temora*	
30/11/73	Smith	Donald
27/10/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
15/03/75	Macfarlane	Alexander
26/10/75	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	4

Pope	*Essays on Man & on Criticism*	
11/02/75	Tod	David
01/01/76	Murray	Thomas
28/12/76	Bennet	George
15/03/77	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	4

Students matriculating in 1773

Pope — *Works vol.4*

03/12/74	Hunter	Robert
17/03/75	Rollo	George
04/11/75	Fraser	James
24/01/76	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	4

Rollin — *Ancient History vol.10*

17/12/73	Bennet	George
29/12/73	Mitchell	James
17/02/74	Brown	John
30/12/74	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	4

Rollin — *Ancient History vol.13*

21/12/73	Bennet	George
07/02/74	Hunter	Robert
31/10/75	Moodie	William
15/01/76	Macfarlane	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	4

Rollin — *Roman History vol.6*

23/11/73	Moodie	Charles
18/01/74	Milne	James
04/03/74	Grant	Andrew
15/04/74	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	4

Shaftesbury — *Characteristicks vol.1*

02/12/75	Mitchell	James
01/01/76	Murray	Thomas
08/11/76	Manson	John
15/01/77	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	4

Shakespeare — *Works vol.2*

24/03/75	Murray	Thomas
24/04/75	Tod	David
04/11/75	Rollo	George
12/03/76	Rollo	George
	Number of times borrowed	4

Shakespeare — *Works vol.6*

10/03/74	Hunter	Robert
24/03/75	Murray	Thomas
27/04/75	Tod	David
19/04/76	Rollo	George
	Number of times borrowed	4

Smollett — *Humphrey Clinker vol.1*

13/12/73	Tod	David
22/01/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
19/10/74	Hunter	Robert
06/05/76	Rait	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

Smollett — *Humphrey Clinker vol.2*

13/12/73	Tod	David
28/01/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
19/10/74	Hunter	Robert
06/05/76	Rait	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

Steele — *Guardian vol.2*

03/11/73	Brown	John
11/01/74	Bennet	George
05/03/74	Hunter	Robert
16/02/75	Hird	James
	Number of times borrowed	4

Steele — *Tatler vol.1*

16/03/74	Hunter	Robert
29/11/74	Tod	David
10/12/74	Rollo	George
04/02/75	Moodie	William
	Number of times borrowed	4

Steele — *Tatler vol.2*

16/03/74	Hunter	Robert
29/11/74	Tod	David
10/12/74	Rollo	George
04/02/75	Moodie	William
	Number of times borrowed	4

Swift — *Works vol.2*

11/12/73	Wilkie	James
14/12/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
09/01/75	M'ara	Robert
24/02/75	Rollo	George
	Number of times borrowed	4

Addison — *Spectator vol.1*

24/10/74	Smith	Donald
14/01/75	Macfarlane	Alexander
15/03/75	Constable	William
	Number of times borrowed	3

Addison — *Spectator vol.7*

11/02/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
16/11/74	Rollo	George
06/01/75	Macfarlane	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Addison — *Spectator vol.8*

11/02/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
16/11/74	Rollo	George
06/01/75	Macfarlane	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Addison — *Works vol.3*

29/03/74	Rollo	George
03/12/74	Tod	David
04/12/75	Manson	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Students matriculating in 1773

Bielfield	*Universal Erudition**	
05/04/75	Wilkie	James
15/04/75	Rollo	George
22/02/76	Rollo	George
	Number of times borrowed	3

Blackwall	*Sacred Classics*	
02/11/74	Murray	Thomas
09/02/75	Rollo	George
03/04/75	Manson	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Burgh	*Dignity of Human Nature*	
18/12/75	Murray	Thomas
19/01/76	Wilkie	James
03/12/76	Wilkie	James
	Number of times borrowed	3

Burke	*On the Sublime*	
01/11/73	Hird	James
15/12/74	Rollo	George
13/03/75	Tod	David
	Number of times borrowed	3

Cervantes	*Don Quixote (trans. Jarvis) vol.1*	
28/03/74	Smith	Donald
03/11/75	Murray	Thomas
13/11/75	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	3

Cervantes	*Don Quixote (trans. Jarvis) vol.2*	
28/03/74	Smith	Donald
03/11/75	Murray	Thomas
13/11/75	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	3

Dodsley	*Preceptor vol.1*	
26/10/74	Rollo	George
02/12/75	Constable	William
17/01/76	Whinfield	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	3

Dodson	*Mathematical Repository*	
25/11/74	Dalyell	Thomas
24/02/76	Rollo	George
14/11/76	Whinfield	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	3

Ellis	*Voyage to Hudson's Bay*	
13/11/73	Brown	John
21/02/74	Murray	Thomas
23/02/75	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	3

Fénelon	*Telemachus (trans. Hawkesworth)*	
04/11/73	Moodie	William
27/11/73	Murray	Thomas
01/02/74	Constable	William
	Number of times borrowed	3

Fenning	*Mensuration*	
28/12/74	Dalyell	Thomas
24/02/76	Rollo	George
19/11/76	Rollo	George
	Number of times borrowed	3

Fielding, S	*Adventures of David Simple vol.1*	
05/07/75	Hunter	Robert
05/11/76	Rait	John
26/04/77	Matheson	Colin
	Number of times borrowed	3

Fielding, S	*Adventures of David Simple vol.2*	
05/07/75	Hunter	Robert
05/11/76	Rait	John
26/04/77	Matheson	Colin
	Number of times borrowed	3

Goldsmith	*Roman History vol.1*	
25/02/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
08/03/74	Brown	John
14/03/74	Smith	Donald
	Number of times borrowed	3

Goldsmith	*Roman History vol.2*	
25/02/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
08/03/74	Brown	John
14/03/74	Smith	Donald
	Number of times borrowed	3

Griffith	*Something New*	
03/12/73	Manson	John
22/12/73	Rollo	George
03/05/76	Rait	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Haywood	*Invisible Spy vol.1*	
05/07/75	Hunter	Robert
16/03/76	Rait	John
22/04/76	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	3

Haywood	*Invisible Spy vol.2*	
05/07/75	Hunter	Robert
16/03/76	Rait	John
22/04/76	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	3

Students matriculating in 1773

Haywood — *Invisible Spy vol.3*

05/07/75	Hunter	Robert
20/03/76	Rait	John
27/04/76	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	3

Haywood — *Invisible Spy vol.4*

05/07/75	Hunter	Robert
20/03/76	Rait	John
27/04/76	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	3

Hooke — *Roman History vol.3*

25/11/73	Mitchell	James
07/01/74	Wilkie	James
01/06/74	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	3

Hooke — *Roman History vol.4*

01/12/73	Mitchell	James
07/01/74	Wilkie	James
10/08/74	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	3

Horace — *Odes, etc., Lat. Eng. (ed. Watson), vol.1*

04/11/73	Constable	William
27/01/74	Tod	David
21/01/75	Matheson	Colin
	Number of times borrowed	3

Horace — *Odes, etc., Lat. Eng. (ed. Watson), vol.2*

04/11/73	Constable	William
27/01/74	Tod	David
21/01/75	Matheson	Colin
	Number of times borrowed	3

Hume — *History vol.3*

08/11/73	Smith	Donald
14/12/74	Brown	John
15/12/75	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	3

Hutcheson — *Ethicks*

02/11/75	Murray	Thomas
09/12/75	Rollo	George
08/03/77	Murray	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	3

Johnson, S., D.D. — *Elements of Philosophy*

27/11/75	Tod	David
01/05/76	Constable	William
12/12/76	Wilkie	James
	Number of times borrowed	3

Johnson, Samuel — *Rambler vol.4*

29/01/74	Hunter	Robert
21/03/74	Constable	William
24/03/75	Rollo	George
	Number of times borrowed	3

Juvenal — *Satires (trans. Dryden)*

23/04/74	Rollo	George
11/03/75	Matheson	Colin
23/04/76	Constable	William
	Number of times borrowed	3

Longinus — *On the Sublime (trans. Smith)*

30/11/74	Grant	James
06/12/74	Smith	Donald
04/03/76	Fraser	James
	Number of times borrowed	3

Lyttleton — *Dialogues of the Dead*

21/01/74	Constable	William
08/02/74	Rollo	George
21/02/74	Moodie	Charles
	Number of times borrowed	3

Mair — *Arithmetic vol.1*

22/05/76	Hunter	Robert
31/07/76	Hunter	Robert
01/11/76	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	3

Molière — *Plays vol.1*

27/01/74	Hunter	Robert
18/03/74	Hunter	Robert
01/02/77	Murray	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	3

n.a. — *Arabian Nights vol.2*

26/11/73	Matheson	Colin
22/01/74	M'ara	Robert
17/03/74	Mitchell	James
	Number of times borrowed	3

n.a. — *Letters to Eleonora vol.1*

18/04/74	Bennet	George
28/11/75	Tod	David
01/12/75	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	3

n.a. — *Life of Harriet Stuart*

25/02/74	Riddell	George
29/06/74	Hunter	Robert
31/12/76	Whinfield	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	3

n.a. — *Plays vol.1 (or unspecified)*

13/01/74	Hunter	Robert
01/11/76	Rait	John
02/11/76	Rait	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Students matriculating in 1773

n.a.	*Plays vol.2*		
13/01/74	Hunter	Robert	
01/11/76	Rait	John	
09/11/76	Rait	John	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Pope	*Homer's Iliad vol.2*		
27/07/74	Hunter	Robert	
25/11/74	M'ara	Robert	
06/12/74	Grant	James	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Pope	*Homer's Iliad vol.3*		
27/07/74	Hunter	Robert	
25/11/74	M'ara	Robert	
21/08/76	Hunter	Robert	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Pope	*Works vol.10*		
11/03/75	Hunter	Robert	
01/04/75	Rollo	George	
17/04/76	Fraser	James	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Pope	*Works vol.2*		
04/11/74	Hunter	Robert	
14/03/75	Rollo	George	
18/12/75	Hunter	Robert	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Pope	*Works vol.3*		
03/12/74	Hunter	Robert	
04/11/75	Fraser	James	
24/01/76	Hunter	Robert	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Pope	*Works vol.9*		
11/03/75	Hunter	Robert	
01/04/75	Rollo	George	
17/04/76	Fraser	James	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Quintillian	*Eloquence (trans. Guthrie) vol.1*		
29/10/74	Mitchell	James	
12/01/75	Rollo	George	
10/02/75	Manson	John	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Quintillian	*Eloquence (trans. Guthrie) vol.2*		
29/10/74	Mitchell	James	
12/01/75	Moodie	Charles	
10/02/75	Manson	John	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Rollin	*Ancient History vol.5*		
27/12/73	Bennet	George	
08/02/74	Hird	James	
19/03/74	Mitchell	James	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Rollin	*Ancient History vol.7*		
30/10/73	Constable	William	
22/01/74	Matheson	Colin	
12/12/74	M'ara	Robert	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Rollin	*Ancient History vol.8*		
30/10/73	Constable	William	
22/01/74	Matheson	Colin	
12/12/74	M'ara	Robert	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Rollin	*Ancient History vol.9*		
17/12/73	Bennet	George	
29/12/73	Mitchell	James	
17/02/74	Brown	John	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Rollin	*Belles Lettres vol.1*		
25/10/74	Murray	Thomas	
16/11/74	Rollo	George	
30/03/76	Hunter	Robert	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Rollin	*Belles Lettres vol.2*		
25/10/74	Murray	Thomas	
16/11/74	Rollo	George	
30/03/76	Hunter	Robert	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Rollin	*Belles Lettres vol.3*		
26/11/73	Bennet	George	
14/11/74	Murray	Thomas	
20/12/74	Rollo	George	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Rollin	*Belles Lettres vol.4*		
26/11/73	Bennet	George	
14/11/74	Murray	Thomas	
20/12/74	Rollo	George	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Rollin	*Roman History vol.1*		
01/02/74	Grant	Andrew	
09/03/74	M'ara	Robert	
27/01/75	Hunter	Robert	
	Number of times borrowed		3
Rollin	*Roman History vol.2*		
01/02/74	Grant	Andrew	
09/03/74	M'ara	Robert	
27/01/75	Hunter	Robert	
	Number of times borrowed		3

Students matriculating in 1773

Rollin — *Roman History vol.5*

23/11/73	Moodie	Charles
04/03/74	Grant	Andrew
15/04/74	M'ara	Robert

Number of times borrowed 3

Ruddiman — *Latin Grammar*

11/03/75	Fraser	James
14/11/75	Rollo	George
20/11/76	Bennet	George

Number of times borrowed 3

Shakespeare — *Works vol.1*

24/04/75	Tod	David
04/11/75	Rollo	George
12/03/76	Rollo	George

Number of times borrowed 3

Simson, Robert — *Euclid*

22/02/74	Hird	James
08/01/75	Wilkie	James
28/10/76	Whinfield	Henry

Number of times borrowed 3

Sully — *Memoirs vol.1*

18/01/75	Constable	William
01/03/75	M'ara	Robert
02/03/76	Hunter	Robert

Number of times borrowed 3

Sully — *Memoirs vol.2*

18/01/75	Constable	William
01/03/75	M'ara	Robert
31/10/75	Rait	John

Number of times borrowed 3

Swift — *Works vol.3*

06/01/75	Smith	Donald
02/03/75	Rollo	George
20/06/75	M'ara	Robert

Number of times borrowed 3

Tacitus — *Works (trans. Gordon) vol.1*

12/11/73	Groves	John
21/02/74	Bennet	George
13/02/75	Murray	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 3

Virgil — *Aeneid (trans. Dryden)**

20/11/73	Tod	David
11/03/75	Fraser	James
18/11/75	Mitchell	James

Number of times borrowed 3

Watts — *Doctrine of the Passions*

25/11/75	Rollo	George
13/11/76	Wilkie	James
28/02/77	Murray	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 3

Watts — *Improvement of the Mind*

07/12/74	Bennet	George
18/02/75	Manson	John
20/11/75	Rollo	George

Number of times borrowed 3

Watts — *Logick*

06/12/74	Bennet	George
04/04/75	Rollo	George
28/04/75	Constable	William

Number of times borrowed 3

Williams — *Memoirs of Mrs Williams**

27/03/74	Riddell	George
01/04/75	Rait	John
30/08/75	Hunter	Robert

Number of times borrowed 3

Wynne — *History of America**

15/02/74	Smith	Donald
09/03/74	Tod	David
02/01/77	Matheson	Colin

Number of times borrowed 3

Anson — *Voyage*

06/11/73	Grant	Andrew
04/02/75	Murray	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 2

Atterbury — *Sermons vol.2*

10/07/76	Bennet	George
07/08/76	Bennet	George

Number of times borrowed 2

Aulnoy — *Lady's Travels**

21/01/75	Murray	Thomas
26/07/75	Hunter	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Belfour — *History of Scotland*

08/11/73	Smith	Donald
07/11/76	Rait	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Bell — *Travels vol.1*

30/11/73	Brown	John
29/12/73	Hunter	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Brooke — *Fool of Quality vol.5*

01/04/76	Rait	John
29/04/76	Whinfield	Henry

Number of times borrowed 2

Brooke — *Natural History vol.1*

31/01/74	Murray	Thomas
18/02/74	M'ara	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Students matriculating in 1773

Brooke — *Natural History vol.2*

31/01/74	Murray	Thomas
06/02/75	Matheson	Colin

Number of times borrowed 2

Brooke — *Natural History vol.4*

17/01/74	Bennet	George
07/02/74	M'ara	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Brooke, Frances — *Emily Montague vol.1*

16/01/76	Rait	John
01/02/77	M'ara	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Brooke, Frances — *Emily Montague vol.2*

16/01/76	Rait	John
01/02/77	M'ara	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Brooke, Frances — *Emily Montague vol.3*

16/01/76	Rait	John
04/05/76	Manson	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Brooke, Frances — *Emily Montague vol.4*

16/01/76	Rait	John
04/05/76	Manson	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Brooke, Henry — *Fool of Quality vol.1*

21/03/76	Whinfield	Henry
09/04/76	M'ara	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Brooke, Henry — *Fool of Quality vol.2*

21/03/76	Whinfield	Henry
09/04/76	M'ara	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Brooke, Henry — *Fool of Quality vol.4*

22/11/73	Wilkie	James
29/04/76	Whinfield	Henry

Number of times borrowed 2

Brown — *Essay on the Characteristicks*

13/12/74	Milne	James
08/12/75	Macfarlane	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Burke — *Annual Register vol.7*

02/03/76	M'ara	Robert
08/02/77	M'ara	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Caesar — *Commentarii*

16/11/73	Hird	James
14/02/75	Murray	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 2

Caylus — *Oriental Tales vol.1*

02/08/75	Hunter	Robert
02/04/76	Matheson	Colin

Number of times borrowed 2

Caylus — *Oriental Tales vol.2*

02/08/75	Hunter	Robert
02/04/76	Matheson	Colin

Number of times borrowed 2

Chesterfield — *World vol.3*

18/03/75	Rollo	George
18/03/76	Rollo	George

Number of times borrowed 2

Cicero — *Cato, or Old Age (trans. Melmoth)*

01/02/74	Smith	Donald
31/03/74	Macfarlane	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Cicero — *Epistles (trans. Middleton)*

16/02/74	Rollo	George
04/04/74	Constable	William

Number of times borrowed 2

Clark — *Essay on Study*

24/11/73	Bennet	George
18/02/75	Rollo	George

Number of times borrowed 2

Congreve — *Works vol.2*

09/11/74	Bennet	George
27/11/75	Hunter	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Congreve — *Works vol.3*

16/11/74	Bennet	George
27/11/75	Hunter	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Crantz — *History of Greenland*

16/12/74	Milne	James
25/02/75	M'ara	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Defoe — *Robinson Crusoe vol.1*

30/01/74	Whinfield	Henry
24/05/75	Hunter	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Defoe — *Robinson Crusoe vol.2*

30/01/74	Whinfield	Henry
24/05/75	Hunter	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Demosthenes — *Orationes, Gr. Lat.* *

24/10/74	Cunninghame	William
07/02/77	Whinfield	Henry

Number of times borrowed 2

Students matriculating in 1773

Du Bocage	*Letters**		
02/05/75	Rait	John	
26/07/75	Hunter	Robert	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Du Halde	*History of China vol.1*		
25/11/73	Hunter	Robert	
15/01/74	Mitchell	James	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Du Halde	*History of China vol.2*		
25/11/73	Hunter	Robert	
15/01/74	Mitchell	James	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Emerson	*Mechanics*		
25/11/74	Dalyell	Thomas	
17/11/75	Dalyell	Thomas	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Fielding	*Amelia vol.1*		
29/01/76	Rait	John	
02/03/76	Whinfield	Henry	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Fielding	*Amelia vol.2*		
29/01/76	Rait	John	
02/03/76	Whinfield	Henry	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Fielding	*Amelia vol.3*		
08/02/76	Rait	John	
12/03/76	Whinfield	Henry	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Fielding	*Amelia vol.4*		
08/02/76	Rait	John	
12/03/76	Whinfield	Henry	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Fielding	*Miscellanies vol.1*		
19/01/74	Manson	John	
20/02/75	Wilkie	James	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Fielding	*Miscellanies vol.2*		
19/01/74	Manson	John	
20/02/75	Wilkie	James	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Fielding	*Miscellanies vol.3*		
24/01/74	Manson	John	
01/11/76	Matheson	Colin	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Fisher	*English Grammar*		
29/11/74	Tod	David	
03/02/76	Constable	William	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Forster	*Travels*		
23/04/74	Manson	John	
25/02/75	Matheson	Colin	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Gerard	*Essay on Genius*		
21/03/75	Rollo	George	
01/02/77	Manson	John	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Gibson	*Surveying*		
14/12/74	Constable	William	
24/05/75	Dalyell	Thomas	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Glover	*Leonidas**		
09/04/74	Hunter	Robert	
08/04/76	Whinfield	Henry	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Goldsmith	*Natural History vol.7*		
02/12/76	Murray	Thomas	
19/12/76	Rollo	George	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Goldsmith	*Natural History vol.8*		
02/12/76	Murray	Thomas	
19/12/76	Rollo	George	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Gordon	*Accomptant**		
29/10/74	Brown	John	
03/04/76	Bennet	George	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Greene	*Critical Essays 1770*		
13/02/75	Rollo	George	
01/02/76	Constable	William	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Guthrie	*Geographical Grammar*		
29/03/74	Brown	John	
03/10/75	Hunter	Robert	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Guthrie	*History of Scotland vol.10*		
10/03/75	Fraser	James	
29/03/75	Fraser	James	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Guthrie	*History of Scotland vol.9*		
10/03/75	Fraser	James	
29/03/75	Fraser	James	
	Number of times borrowed		2
Haywood	*Anecdotes of a Convent**		
24/12/73	Fraser	James	
17/03/75	M'ara	Robert	
	Number of times borrowed		2

Students matriculating in 1773

Haywood — *Female Spectator vol.1*

23/11/73	M'ara	Robert
19/01/74	Hird	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Haywood — *Female Spectator vol.2*

23/11/73	M'ara	Robert
19/01/74	Hird	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Haywood — *Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy vol.1*

30/08/75	Hunter	Robert
13/12/76	Rait	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Haywood — *Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy vol.2*

30/08/75	Hunter	Robert
13/12/76	Rait	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Haywood — *Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy vol.3*

30/08/75	Hunter	Robert
13/12/76	Rait	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Hill — *Adventures of Lady Fraile*

30/03/74	Riddell	George
24/01/76	Rait	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Hoffmann — *Opera Physico-medica**

27/09/75	Smith	Donald
05/02/76	Macfarlane	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Hooke — *Roman History vol.2*

28/03/74	Hunter	Robert
01/06/74	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	2

Hooke — *Roman History vol.5*

01/12/73	Mitchell	James
10/08/74	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	2

Hurd — *Moral and Political Dialogues**

13/11/73	Brown	John
24/02/76	Rollo	George
	Number of times borrowed	2

Hutcheson — *Beauty and Virtue*

10/04/76	Murray	Thomas
20/11/76	Wilkie	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Hutcheson — *Passions and Affections*

02/03/75	Constable	William
02/03/76	Murray	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Johnson, Samuel — *Tour of the Hebrides*

08/11/75	Matheson	Colin
20/11/75	Grant	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Leland — *Philip of Macedon*

26/01/76	Matheson	Colin
29/01/77	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	2

Levesque de Pouill — *Theory of Agreeable Sensations*

23/04/76	Constable	William
09/11/76	Rollo	George
	Number of times borrowed	2

Lewis — *Materia Medica*

21/12/73	Groves	John
11/02/75	Smith	Donald
	Number of times borrowed	2

Livy — *Historiae*

16/11/73	Manson	John
29/05/76	Bennet	George
	Number of times borrowed	2

Macaulay, Aulay — *Shorthand*

23/12/73	Smith	Donald
04/01/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Mair — *Book-keeping*

25/11/74	Moodie	Charles
29/11/75	Dalyell	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Monro — *Anatomy*

19/03/74	Groves	John
11/05/75	Smith	Donald
	Number of times borrowed	2

Montesquieu — *L'Esprit des Lois**

11/01/77	Moodie	William
21/02/77	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	2

Musschenbroek — *Elements of Natural Philosophy**

12/12/76	Murray	Thomas
01/02/77	Whinfield	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	2

Students matriculating in 1773

n.a. *Letters to Eleonora vol.2*

28/11/75	Tod	David
01/12/75	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	2

n.a. *Modern Characters vol.1*

25/01/75	Hunter	Robert
01/05/76	Manson	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

n.a. *Modern Characters vol.2*

25/01/75	Hunter	Robert
01/05/76	Manson	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

n.a. *Poetae Minores*

18/03/75	Bennet	George
10/02/76	Bennet	George
	Number of times borrowed	2

n.a. *Tears of Sensibility*

07/04/74	Riddell	George
09/11/76	Rait	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Paltock *Peter Wilkins vol.1*

26/10/75	Hunter	Robert
04/02/77	Whinfield	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	2

Paltock *Peter Wilkins vol.2*

26/10/75	Hunter	Robert
04/02/77	Whinfield	Henry
	Number of times borrowed	2

Payne *Trigonometry*

07/12/76	Rollo	George
16/07/77	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	2

Pennant *Tour in Scotland**

20/09/75	Smith	Donald
04/02/77	Matheson	Colin
	Number of times borrowed	2

Plato *Dialogues, Eng., vol.1*

21/12/75	Brown	John
07/02/76	Rollo	George
	Number of times borrowed	2

Pope *Dunciad Variorum*

04/12/73	Bennet	George
24/07/76	Bennet	George
	Number of times borrowed	2

Pope *Homer's Iliad vol.1*

27/07/74	Hunter	Robert
06/12/74	Grant	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Pope *Homer's Iliad vol.4*

27/07/74	Hunter	Robert
29/11/74	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	2

Pope *Works vol.6*

17/03/75	Rollo	George
30/11/75	Fraser	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Quintilian *De Institutione Oratoria*

09/12/73	Brown	John
27/10/74	Manson	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Richardson *Charles Grandison vol.3*

17/02/74	Whinfield	Henry
29/03/74	Mitchell	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Richardson *Charles Grandison vol.4*

17/02/74	Whinfield	Henry
29/03/74	Mitchell	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin *Ancient History vol.11*

30/12/74	M'ara	Robert
01/03/77	Murray	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin *Ancient History vol.2*

04/04/74	Brown	John
24/05/75	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin *Ancient History vol.6*

27/12/73	Bennet	George
08/02/74	Hird	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin *Roman History vol.3*

12/02/74	Grant	Andrew
04/04/74	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin *Roman History vol.4*

12/02/74	Grant	Andrew
04/04/74	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rousseau *Nouvelle Héloïse**

31/01/76	Rollo	George
13/02/76	Constable	William
	Number of times borrowed	2

Shaftesbury *Characteristicks vol.3*

21/12/74	Tod	David
14/08/76	Bennet	George
	Number of times borrowed	2

Students matriculating in 1773

Shakespeare *Works vol.5*

25/02/74	Hunter	Robert
24/03/75	Murray	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Shakespeare *Works vol.7*

25/02/74	Hunter	Robert
24/03/75	Murray	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Shakespeare *Works vol.8*

10/03/74	Hunter	Robert
19/04/76	Rollo	George
	Number of times borrowed	2

Shenstone *Works vol.1*

26/07/75	Hunter	Robert
21/05/77	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	2

Shenstone *Works vol.2*

26/07/75	Hunter	Robert
21/05/77	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	2

Sheridan *Plan of Education*

09/03/74	Smith	Donald
28/02/77	Moodie	William
	Number of times borrowed	2

Smollett *History of England vol.1*

06/07/75	Fraser	James
19/04/77	Rait	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Smollett *History of England vol.2*

13/07/75	Fraser	James
19/04/77	Rait	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Smollett *Humphrey Clinker vol.3*

28/01/74	Macfarlane	Alexander
19/10/74	Hunter	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	2

Stanyan *History of Greece vol.1*

29/03/74	Rollo	George
19/02/76	Matheson	Colin
	Number of times borrowed	2

Stanyan *History of Greece vol.2*

29/03/74	Rollo	George
19/02/76	Matheson	Colin
	Number of times borrowed	2

Steele *Tatler vol.3*

16/03/74	Hunter	Robert
16/11/74	Rollo	George
	Number of times borrowed	2

Sully *Memoirs vol.3*

23/04/74	Rollo	George
24/01/75	Constable	William
	Number of times borrowed	2

Sully *Memoirs vol.4*

19/03/74	Bennet	George
24/01/75	Constable	William
	Number of times borrowed	2

Sully *Memoirs vol.5*

19/03/74	Bennet	George
28/01/75	Constable	William
	Number of times borrowed	2

Swift *Gulliver's Travels vol.1*

09/02/74	Grant	James
12/02/76	Manson	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Swift *Gulliver's Travels vol.2*

09/02/74	Grant	James
12/02/76	Manson	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Swift *Works vol.4*

09/01/75	Smith	Donald
02/03/75	Rollo	George
	Number of times borrowed	2

Swift *Works vol.5*

09/01/75	Smith	Donald
04/03/75	Rollo	George
	Number of times borrowed	2

Swift *Works vol.6*

04/03/75	Rollo	George
20/06/75	M'ara	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	2

Swift *Works vol.7*

02/02/75	Smith	Donald
15/02/75	Hird	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Swift *Works vol.8*

02/02/75	Smith	Donald
15/02/75	Hird	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Tacitus *Works (trans. Gordon) vol.2*

12/11/73	Groves	John
13/02/75	Murray	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Terence *Comedies, Lat. Eng.(ed. Patrick), vol.2*

20/04/74	Tod	David
17/02/75	Tod	David
	Number of times borrowed	2

Students matriculating in 1773

Thucydides — *De Bello Peloponnesiaco, Lat.*

19/02/74	Grant	James
24/02/76	Rollo	George

Number of times borrowed 2

Vigerus — *De Praecipuis Graecae Dictionis Idiotismis*

30/08/75	Smith	Donald
03/02/76	Manson	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Virgil — *Works (trans. Andrews)*

25/11/73	Grant	Andrew
09/01/76	Constable	William

Number of times borrowed 2

Wilson — *Chemistry*

20/12/74	Milne	James
05/07/75	Smith	Donald

Number of times borrowed 2

Xenophon — *Memorable Things of Socrates*

26/10/76	Murray	Thomas
30/10/76	Moodie	William

Number of times borrowed 2

"A Nobleman" — *Roman History**

15/03/75	Grant	Andrew

Number of times borrowed 1

Abernethie — *Sermons**

06/01/75	Milne	James

Number of times borrowed 1

Alston — *Materia Medica**

23/08/75	Smith	Donald

Number of times borrowed 1

Annet — *Shorthand*

28/04/74	Hird	James

Number of times borrowed 1

Anstey — *Epistles for the Ladies**

03/04/75	Rait	John

Number of times borrowed 1

Antoninus — *Meditations, Gr. Lat.*

30/10/76	Moodie	William

Number of times borrowed 1

Arsace — *Prince of Bettis*

24/05/75	Hunter	Robert

Number of times borrowed 1

Atterbury — *Sermons vol.1*

10/07/76	Bennet	George

Number of times borrowed 1

Balguy — *Tracts*

03/12/73	Milne	James

Number of times borrowed 1

Barclay — *Greek Rudiments*

09/04/74	Rollo	George

Number of times borrowed 1

Baxter — *Immateriality of the Soul vol.1*

30/11/75	Constable	William

Number of times borrowed 1

Beccaria — *Essay on Crimes*

11/01/77	Moodie	William

Number of times borrowed 1

Bell — *Travels vol.2*

29/12/73	Hunter	Robert

Number of times borrowed 1

Berkeley — *Dialogues*

12/01/75	Bennet	George

Number of times borrowed 1

Blackstone — *Commentary*

01/02/77	Manson	John

Number of times borrowed 1

Blackwell — *Life of Homer*

09/04/74	Rollo	George

Number of times borrowed 1

Bolingbroke — *Works vol.1*

08/01/75	Milne	James

Number of times borrowed 1

Bolingbroke — *Works vol.2*

08/01/75	Milne	James

Number of times borrowed 1

Bolingbroke — *Works vol.3*

08/01/75	Milne	James

Number of times borrowed 1

Bolingbroke — *Works vol.4*

08/01/75	Milne	James

Number of times borrowed 1

Bolingbroke — *Works vol.5*

08/01/75	Milne	James

Number of times borrowed 1

Boswell — *Corsica*

31/07/76	Bennet	George

Number of times borrowed 1

Boyle — *Essays**

21/12/74	Tod	David

Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1773

Boyle *Lectures**
17/12/74 Milne James
Number of times borrowed 1

Boyle *Natural Philosophy*
03/12/76 Murray Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Brooke *Natural History vol.3*
17/01/74 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

Brooke *Natural History vol.5*
07/02/74 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Brooke *Natural History vol.6*
18/02/74 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Brooke, Henry *Fool of Quality vol.3*
22/11/73 Wilkie James
Number of times borrowed 1

Brydon *Tour through Sicily and Malta vol.1*
03/04/75 Manson John
Number of times borrowed 1

Brydon *Tour through Sicily and Malta vol.2*
03/04/75 Manson John
Number of times borrowed 1

Burke *Annual Register vol.10*
06/03/77 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Burke *Annual Register vol.12*
08/03/76 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Burke *Annual Register vol.13*
21/04/77 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Burke *Annual Register vol.14*
21/04/77 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Burke *Annual Register vol.4*
08/03/76 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Burke *Annual Register vol.8*
02/03/76 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Burke *Annual Register vol.9*
08/02/77 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Burlamaqui *Natural Law*
12/01/74 Milne James
Number of times borrowed 1

Burn *English Grammar*
03/03/76 Wilkie James
Number of times borrowed 1

Burnet *Thoughts on Education*
11/02/75 Rollo George
Number of times borrowed 1

Burns *Surveying*
24/05/75 Dalyell Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Calvin *Institutiones*
23/12/74 Milne James
Number of times borrowed 1

Campbell, A. *Moral Virtue*
28/12/75 Moodie William
Number of times borrowed 1

Catullus/Propertiu *Opera*
21/08/76 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

Chapman *Treatise on Education*
28/02/75 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

Cheseldon *Anatomy*
05/01/76 Macfarlane Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Chesterfield *World vol.1*
09/02/75 Smith Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

Chesterfield *World vol.2*
09/02/75 Smith Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

Churchill *Poems*
07/04/74 Riddell George
Number of times borrowed 1

Cibber *Character of Cicero*
30/10/73 Moodie Charles
Number of times borrowed 1

Cicero *Opera vol.10*
06/01/74 Milne James
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1773

Clarke *Latin Grammar*
17/03/74 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

Cobden *Poems 1748*
19/01/74 Groves John
Number of times borrowed 1

Cocking *Arithmetic*
18/06/77 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Colman *Connoisseur vol.1*
02/04/74 Hird James
Number of times borrowed 1

Colman *Connoisseur vol.2*
02/04/74 Hird James
Number of times borrowed 1

Congreve *Works vol.1*
27/11/75 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Cullen *Materia Medica**
27/02/75 Smith Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

Defoe *History of Apparitions*
08/03/74 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

Defoe *Lives of the Pirates*
10/10/75 Matheson Colin
Number of times borrowed 1

Demosthenes *Opera*
13/12/76 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

Derham *Physicotheologie*
31/01/77 Murray Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Diogenes Laertius *De Vitis Philosophorum*
18/12/76 Rollo George
Number of times borrowed 1

Du Halde *History of China vol.3*
10/12/73 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Du Halde *History of China vol.4*
10/12/73 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Dunton *Athenian Oracle vol.2*
07/02/75 Rollo George
Number of times borrowed 1

Entick *State of the British Empire*
03/11/73 Riddell George
Number of times borrowed 1

Erasmus *Adagia*
14/03/74 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

Fénelon *L'Eloquence**
01/03/77 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Fénelon *Telemaque*
22/05/76 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Ferguson, Adam *Essay on Civil Society*
02/12/74 Milne James
Number of times borrowed 1

Fielding *Joseph Andrews vol.1*
21/03/76 Whinfield Henry
Number of times borrowed 1

Fitzosborne *Letters vol.2*
29/03/75 Hird James
Number of times borrowed 1

Fontaine *Tales*
03/04/75 Rait John
Number of times borrowed 1

Foster *Natural Religion*
08/03/75 Milne James
Number of times borrowed 1

Geddes *Composition of the Ancients*
01/03/77 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Gerard *Essay on Taste*
29/05/76 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

Goldsmith *History of Greece**
13/03/75 Murray Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Goldsmith *Natural History vol.3*
13/12/76 Rollo George
Number of times borrowed 1

Goldsmith *Natural History vol.5*
30/11/76 Matheson Colin
Number of times borrowed 1

Goldsmith *Natural History vol.6*
30/11/76 Matheson Colin
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1773

Goodall *Antiquities of Scotland*
22/01/76 Matheson Colin
Number of times borrowed 1

Gordon *History of Peter the Great vol.1*
29/11/74 Matheson Colin
Number of times borrowed 1

Gordon *History of Peter the Great vol.2*
29/11/74 Matheson Colin
Number of times borrowed 1

Grove *Moral Philosophy vol.1*
27/10/75 Mitchell James
Number of times borrowed 1

Grove *Moral Philosophy vol.2*
27/10/75 Mitchell James
Number of times borrowed 1

Grove *Sermons**
23/02/75 Milne James
Number of times borrowed 1

Guthrie *History of Scotland vol.1*
08/12/73 Fraser James
Number of times borrowed 1

Guthrie *History of Scotland vol.2*
08/12/73 Fraser James
Number of times borrowed 1

Guthrie *History of Scotland vol.3*
21/12/73 Fraser James
Number of times borrowed 1

Guthrie *History of Scotland vol.4*
21/12/73 Fraser James
Number of times borrowed 1

Guthrie *History of Scotland vol.5*
11/01/75 Fraser James
Number of times borrowed 1

Guthrie *History of Scotland vol.6*
11/01/75 Fraser James
Number of times borrowed 1

Guthrie *History of Scotland vol.7*
12/02/75 Fraser James
Number of times borrowed 1

Guthrie *History of Scotland vol.8*
12/02/75 Fraser James
Number of times borrowed 1

Hapalquist *Travels to the Levant*
14/11/76 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Harris, William *Life of Charles II**
02/12/75 Manson John
Number of times borrowed 1

Haywood *Fortunate Foundlings*
29/04/75 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Herries *Elements of Speech*
08/12/75 Wilkie James
Number of times borrowed 1

Hibernicus *Letters vol.1*
03/12/73 Milne James
Number of times borrowed 1

Hibernicus *Letters vol.2*
03/12/73 Milne James
Number of times borrowed 1

Homer *Iliade (trans. Dacier) vol.2*
24/06/76 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Hooke *Roman History vol.6*
10/08/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Hooper *Rational Recreations**
21/02/77 Rait John
Number of times borrowed 1

Horace *Epistolae ad Pisones vol.1*
26/11/73 Brown John
Number of times borrowed 1

Horace *Epistolae ad Pisones vol.2*
26/11/73 Brown John
Number of times borrowed 1

Hume *History vol.1*
02/11/75 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Hume *History vol.6*
21/02/77 Rait John
Number of times borrowed 1

Hutcheson *Moral Philosophy vol.2*
08/11/76 Murray Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Jackson *Works**
07/01/75 Milne James
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1773

Johnson, R — *Introduction to the Study of History*
28/10/76 Moodie William
Number of times borrowed 1

Johnston — *Psalmi Davidici*
04/11/74 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

Juvenal / Persius — *Satirae*
24/03/75 Murray Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Kames — *Sketches of the History of Man**
15/11/76 Rollo George
Number of times borrowed 1

Keil — *Astronomy*
29/10/76 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

King — *Origin of Evil*
09/02/76 Constable William
Number of times borrowed 1

Knight — *Life of Erasmus**
28/01/74 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

Langley — *Practical Geometry*
24/05/75 Dalyell Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Le Blanc — *Letters*
11/01/77 Moodie William
Number of times borrowed 1

Le Brun — *Travels to the Levant*
11/03/74 Brown John
Number of times borrowed 1

Lemon — *Greek Grammar*
25/11/75 Hird James
Number of times borrowed 1

Limborch — *Institutiones Christianae*
27/12/74 Milne James
Number of times borrowed 1

Lind — *Scurvy*
15/02/76 Smith Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

Linnaeus — *Genera Plantarum*
02/08/75 Smith Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

Locke — *Thoughts concerning Education*
23/02/74 Rollo George
Number of times borrowed 1

MacKittrick — *Practice of Physic*
27/02/75 Smith Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

Maclaurin — *Newton's Philosophy*
13/11/75 Hird James
Number of times borrowed 1

MacQueen — *Letters on Hume's History*
19/04/74 Smith Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

Mair — *Arithmetic vol.2*
22/05/76 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Marmontel — *Tales vol.1*
18/10/75 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Marmontel — *Tales vol.2*
18/10/75 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Meanwell — *Voyage through Hell*
15/03/74 Brown John
Number of times borrowed 1

Milton — *Paradise Regained vol.1*
02/02/74 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

Milton — *Paradise Regained vol.2*
02/02/74 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

Molière — *Plays vol.2*
01/02/77 Murray Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Molière — *Plays vol.3*
08/02/77 Murray Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Molière — *Plays vol.4*
08/02/77 Murray Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Molière — *Plays vol.5*
17/02/77 Murray Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Molière — *Plays vol.6*
17/02/77 Murray Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1773

Montague *Letters vol.1*
30/03/74 Riddell George
Number of times borrowed 1

Montague *Letters vol.2*
30/03/74 Riddell George
Number of times borrowed 1

Montague *Letters vol.3*
30/03/74 Riddell George
Number of times borrowed 1

Morgan *History of Algiers vol.1*
07/02/76 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Morgan *Moral Philosopher vol.1*
05/01/76 Grant Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Morgan *Moral Philosopher vol.2*
05/01/76 Grant Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Morley *Familiar Letters*
09/08/75 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Arabian Nights vol.3*
09/12/73 Moodie William
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Arabian Nights vol.4*
09/12/73 Moodie William
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Art of Letter-writing*
09/04/76 Murray Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Bible in Irish*
22/01/74 Macfarlane Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *English Constitution*
21/02/76 Manson John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Essay on Spirits*
29/01/76 Constable William
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Histoire Philosophique vol.1*
23/11/76 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Histoire Philosophique vol.2*
23/11/76 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *History of Charlotte Clarke*
07/04/74 Riddell George
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *History of the Portugese**
09/11/75 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Introduction to Latin*
04/11/75 Fraser James
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Lady's Drawing Room*
27/03/74 Riddell George
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Leonora vol.1*
24/12/76 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Leonora vol.2*
24/12/76 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Life of D'Aubigny*
02/02/74 Brown John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.1*
18/02/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.2*
18/02/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.41*
02/05/75 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.42*
02/05/75 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.7*
18/04/75 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Modern Universal History vol.8*
18/04/75 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Pamphlets vol.1*
19/02/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

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n.a. *Pamphlets vol.12*
12/02/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Pamphlets vol.13*
12/02/74 Hunter Robert
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n.a. *Pamphlets vol.15*
15/02/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Pamphlets vol.16*
15/02/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Pamphlets vol.2*
19/02/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Pamphlets vol.5*
09/02/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Pamphlets vol.6*
09/02/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Plays vol.3*
20/01/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Plays vol.36*
15/01/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.1*
05/01/75 Milne James
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.13*
28/09/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.14*
28/09/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Universal History vol.15*
28/09/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Voyage to the World of Cartes*
29/01/76 Whinfield Henry
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Works of the Learned vol.1*
29/01/74 Manson John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *Works of the Learned vol.2*
29/01/74 Manson John
Number of times borrowed 1

n.a. *World in the Moon*
17/03/75 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Oldmixon *Logic*
01/12/75 Fraser James
Number of times borrowed 1

Ovid *Metamorphoses (ed. Banier)*
28/03/75 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

Perry *English Grammar*
28/10/76 Moodie William
Number of times borrowed 1

Plautus *Comediae*
23/01/77 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

Pluche *Nature Display'd vol.1*
19/01/76 Tod David
Number of times borrowed 1

Pluche *Nature Display'd vol.2*
19/01/76 Tod David
Number of times borrowed 1

Pope *Essay on Man*
11/09/76 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

Pope *Homer's Odyssey vol.1*
07/02/74 Matheson Colin
Number of times borrowed 1

Pope *Homer's Odyssey vol.2*
07/02/74 Matheson Colin
Number of times borrowed 1

Pope *Letters vol.1*
02/12/75 Mitchell James
Number of times borrowed 1

Pope *Works vol.5*
30/11/75 Fraser James
Number of times borrowed 1

Pope *Works vol.7*
31/01/76 Fraser James
Number of times borrowed 1

Pope *Works vol.8*
31/01/76 Fraser James
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1773

Porter *Observations on the Turks**
19/02/74 Matheson Colin
Number of times borrowed 1

Priestly *English Grammar*
21/02/76 Wilkie James
Number of times borrowed 1

Priestly *Vision*
14/03/75 Dalyell Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Pringle *Diseases of Armies*
23/11/75 Smith Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

Puffendorf *Law of Nature*
21/02/76 Manson John
Number of times borrowed 1

Quintillian *Institutes (trans. Patsall)**
28/03/75 Tod David
Number of times borrowed 1

Ramsay *Principles of Philosophy*
05/01/76 Grant Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Ramsay, Allan *Poems*
24/01/74 Whinfield Henry
Number of times borrowed 1

Ramsay, Andrew *Travels of Cyrus vol.1*
24/01/74 Murray Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Ramsay, Andrew *Travels of Cyrus vol.2*
24/01/74 Murray Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Ricaltoun *Works vol.1*
20/02/76 Wilkie James
Number of times borrowed 1

Richardson *Charles Grandison vol.1*
28/03/74 Macfarlane Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Richardson *Charles Grandison vol.2*
28/03/74 Macfarlane Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Richardson *Charles Grandison vol.5*
30/03/74 Mitchell James
Number of times borrowed 1

Richardson *Charles Grandison vol.6*
30/03/74 Mitchell James
Number of times borrowed 1

Richardson *Pamela vol.3*
28/12/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Richardson *Pamela vol.4*
28/12/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Ancient History vol.3*
01/01/76 Whinfield Henry
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Roman History vol.10*
19/04/74 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Roman History vol.7*
04/12/73 Moodie Charles
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Roman History vol.8*
04/12/73 Moodie Charles
Number of times borrowed 1

Rollin *Roman History vol.9*
19/04/74 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Sale (transl.) *Koran vol.1*
16/04/74 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

Sale (transl.) *Koran vol.2*
28/04/74 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

Sallust *Works, Lat. Eng. (ed. Clark)*
06/12/73 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

Salmon *Geographical Grammar*
07/12/76 Murray Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Saunderson *Algebra vol.1*
13/01/75 Dalyell Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Saurin *Discourse sur la Bible*
12/01/75 Milne James
Number of times borrowed 1

Scheffer *History of Lapland*
20/01/75 Murray Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Shakespeare *Works vol.2*
10/03/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1773

Shakespeare *Works vol.3*
25/02/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Shakespeare *Works vol.4*
25/02/74 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Sharp, Samuel *Surgery*
02/08/75 Smith Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

Shaw *Practice of Physic*
04/04/76 Smith Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

Sherlock *Discourses vol.1*
30/10/76 Moodie William
Number of times borrowed 1

Sidney *Arcadia*
27/09/75 Hunter Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Smith *History of New York*
16/02/74 Constable William
Number of times borrowed 1

Smith, Robert *Optics*
28/03/77 Murray Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Smollett *History of England vol.3*
13/07/75 Fraser James
Number of times borrowed 1

Smollett *History of England vol.8*
22/04/77 Rait John
Number of times borrowed 1

Smollett *History of England vol.9*
22/04/77 Rait John
Number of times borrowed 1

Smollett *Peregrine Pickle vol.1*
10/11/74 Rait John
Number of times borrowed 1

Smollett *Peregrine Pickle vol.2*
10/11/74 Rait John
Number of times borrowed 1

Smollett *Peregrine Pickle vol.3*
10/11/74 Rait John
Number of times borrowed 1

Spearman *Enquiry after Philosophy*
27/03/76 Constable William
Number of times borrowed 1

Steele *Tatler vol.4*
16/11/74 Rollo George
Number of times borrowed 1

Sterne *Sermons**
27/12/73 Milne James
Number of times borrowed 1

Stillingfleet *Works**
12/01/75 Milne James
Number of times borrowed 1

Suetonius *Opera*
02/03/76 M'ara Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Swift *Polite Conversation*
02/12/75 Manson John
Number of times borrowed 1

Tasso *Jerusalem (trans. Hoole)*
24/03/75 Grant Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Terence *Comedies, Lat. Eng. (ed. Patrick), vol.1*
17/02/75 Tod David
Number of times borrowed 1

Theocritus *Opera, Gr. Lat.*
01/02/76 Bennet George
Number of times borrowed 1

Tillotson *Sermons vol.1*
27/12/74 Milne James
Number of times borrowed 1

Town(?) *Connoisseur vol.3*
18/04/74 Hird James
Number of times borrowed 1

Town(?) *Connoisseur vol.4*
18/04/74 Hird James
Number of times borrowed 1

Townsend *Conquest of Mexico*
16/11/73 Grant Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Turnbull *Principles of Philosophy vol.1*
28/11/75 Tod David
Number of times borrowed 1

Turnbull *Principles of Philosophy vol.2*
28/11/75 Tod David
Number of times borrowed 1

Turretinus *Dissertatio Theologica vol.1*
30/10/76 Moodie William
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1773

Turretinus — *Dissertatio Theologica vol.2*
30/10/76 Moodie — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Vauban — *Attaque des Places*
30/08/75 Dalyell — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Vaucluse — *Vizirs, or the Enchanted Labyrinth**
18/06/77 Hunter — Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Vertot — *Histoire des Revolutions vol.1*
02/04/76 Hunter — Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Vertot — *Histoire des Revolutions vol.2*
02/04/76 Hunter — Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Vertot — *Histoire des Revolutions vol.3*
07/04/76 Hunter — Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Vertot — *Knights of Malta**
22/04/77 Hunter — Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Virgil — *Georgics, Lat. Eng. (ed. Martyn)*
19/04/74 Grant — Andrew
Number of times borrowed 1

Voltaire — *Essai sur l'Histoire vol.1*
09/10/76 Hunter — Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Voltaire — *Essai sur l'Histoire vol.2*
09/10/76 Hunter — Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Voltaire — *Essai sur l'Histoire vol.3*
19/11/76 Hunter — Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Voltaire — *Essai sur l'Histoire vol.4*
19/11/76 Hunter — Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Voltaire — *History of Peter the Great**
16/08/75 Hunter — Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Voltaire — *Siècle de Louis XIV*
31/12/76 Murray — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Voltaire — *Works vol.6*
12/06/76 Hunter — Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Wharton — *Essay on Pope*
28/01/75 Constable — William
Number of times borrowed 1

Whiston — *Astronomical Lectures*
26/04/77 Murray — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Whitechurch — *Education*
30/12/74 Tod — David
Number of times borrowed 1

Whytt — *Animal Motion*
16/03/74 Groves — John
Number of times borrowed 1

Wilson — *Instruction of the Indians*
25/02/75 Smith — Donald
Number of times borrowed 1

Wright — *Trigonometry*
25/11/74 Dalyell — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Xenophon — *Cyropaedia, Gr. Lat.*
31/10/76 Murray — Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Xenophon — *Opera, Gr. Lat.**
07/11/74 Grant — James
Number of times borrowed 1

Young, Edward — *Night Thoughts*
06/12/74 M'ara — Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1782

Kames	*Elements of Criticism vol.2*	
02/02/83	Garthshore	James
04/04/83	Isdale	Alexander
05/05/83	Grant	Walter
10/10/83	Pearce	John
05/11/83	Adamson	Thomas
11/11/83	M'kenzie	Alexander
29/12/83	Stewart	James
02/02/84	Downie	Malcolm
28/07/84	Moyes	Laurence
29/07/84	Adamson	Thomas
01/02/85	Pearce	John
02/02/85	Downie	Malcolm
	Number of times borrowed	12

n.a.	*Plays unspecified*	
11/11/82	Oswald	James
01/01/83	Ledward	Thomas Denman
02/02/83	Ledward	Thomas Denman
13/03/83	Grant	Charles
18/10/83	Oswald	James
27/10/83	M'kenzie	Alexander
28/10/83	Oswald	James
02/11/83	Grant	Charles
11/11/83	Oswald	James
12/11/83	Oswald	James
	Number of times borrowed	10

Pope	*Homer's Iliad vol.1*	
25/01/82	M'kenzie	Alexander
11/11/82	Oswald	James
03/03/83	Wood	Robert
05/05/83	Garthshore	James
29/11/83	Downie	Malcolm
29/12/83	Stewart	James
04/04/84	Falconer	Alexander
10/10/84	Falconer	Alexander
12/12/85	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	9

Pope	*Homer's Iliad vol.2*	
25/01/82	M'kenzie	Alexander
11/11/82	Oswald	James
03/03/83	Wood	Robert
05/05/83	Garthshore	James
29/12/83	Stewart	James
04/04/84	Falconer	Alexander
10/10/84	Falconer	Alexander
06/11/84	Moyes	Laurence
12/12/85	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	9

Kames	*Elements of Criticism vol.1*	
02/02/83	Garthshore	James
10/10/83	Pearce	John
11/11/83	M'kenzie	Alexander
29/12/83	Stewart	James
02/02/84	Downie	Malcolm
28/07/84	Adamson	Thomas
01/02/85	Pearce	John
02/02/85	Downie	Malcolm
	Number of times borrowed	8

Pennant	*Tour in Scotland**	
15/11/82	MacGregor	Alexander
01/01/83	Garthshore	James
26/04/83	M'Lellan	Patrick
03/05/83	Martin	John
11/11/83	Falconer	Alexander
05/05/84	Grant	Walter
28/07/84	Adamson	Thomas
11/11/84	Grant	Walter
	Number of times borrowed	8

Pope	*Homer's Iliad vol.3*	
25/01/82	M'kenzie	Alexander
11/11/82	Oswald	James
05/05/83	Garthshore	James
29/12/83	Stewart	James
04/04/84	Falconer	Alexander
10/10/84	Falconer	Alexander
06/11/84	Moyes	Laurence
	Number of times borrowed	7

Robertson, William	*History of Charles V vol.1*	
01/01/83	Hunter	David
03/01/83	Garthshore	James
25/04/83	Grant	Walter
10/06/83	Falconer	Alexander
10/10/83	Garthshore	James
31/10/84	Isdale	Alexander
05/05/86	Armet	John
	Number of times borrowed	7

Robertson, William	*History of Charles V vol.2*	
01/01/83	Hunter	David
03/01/83	Garthshore	James
25/04/83	Grant	Walter
10/06/83	Falconer	Alexander
11/11/83	Garthshore	James
12/12/83	Garthshore	James
01/11/84	Isdale	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	7

Students matriculating in 1782

Anson *Voyage*

04/11/82	MacGregor	Alexander
11/11/82	Moyes	Laurence
02/02/83	Smith	George
03/03/83	Wood	Robert
03/01/85	Falconer	Alexander
02/02/85	Armet	John

Number of times borrowed 6

Hume *History vol.1*

04/09/82	Ledward	Thomas Denman
04/04/83	Garthshore	James
09/09/83	Garthshore	James
12/12/83	Garthshore	James
03/03/84	Isdale	Alexander
10/02/86	Falconer	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 6

Rollin *Ancient History vol.3*

08/11/82	Falconer	Alexander
02/12/82	Smith	George
03/12/82	M'Lellan	Patrick
13/03/83	Davidson	David
18/03/83	Adamson	Thomas
07/02/84	Isdale	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 6

Rollin *Ancient History vol.4*

08/11/82	Falconer	Alexander
02/12/82	Smith	George
07/01/83	M'Lellan	Patrick
13/03/83	Davidson	David
27/11/83	M'Neill	John
29/11/83	M'Lellan	Patrick

Number of times borrowed 6

Addison *Spectator vol.2*

23/11/82	Flockhart	Alexander
02/02/83	Ledward	Thomas Denman
03/03/83	Ledward	Thomas Denman
01/01/84	Armet	John
31/10/84	Isdale	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 5

Brooke, Henry *Fool of Quality vol.1*

11/01/83	Mellis	John
06/08/83	Grant	Charles
28/10/83	Martin	John
11/12/83	Oswald	James
12/12/83	Falconer	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 5

Brooke, Henry *Fool of Quality vol.2*

11/01/83	Mellis	John
06/08/83	Grant	Charles
28/10/83	Martin	John
11/12/83	Oswald	James
12/12/83	Falconer	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 5

Ellis *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*

21/10/82	Guillan	Thomas
11/11/82	Moyes	Laurence
12/12/82	Adamson	Thomas
03/03/83	Garthshore	James
02/02/86	Moyes	Laurence

Number of times borrowed 5

Hawkesworth *Voyages vol.1*

12/03/83	MacGregor	Alexander
03/03/84	Grant	Walter
01/07/84	Adamson	Thomas
12/12/84	Grant	Walter
05/01/85	Armet	John

Number of times borrowed 5

Hume *History vol.2*

04/09/82	Ledward	Thomas Denman
04/04/83	Garthshore	James
09/09/83	Garthshore	James
12/12/83	Garthshore	James
03/03/84	Isdale	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 5

Robertson, William *History of Charles V vol.3*

01/01/83	Hunter	David
25/04/83	Grant	Walter
11/11/83	Garthshore	James
12/12/83	Garthshore	James
01/11/84	Isdale	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 5

Rollin *Ancient History vol.1*

02/10/82	Smith	George
23/10/82	Grant	Walter
11/11/82	Moyes	Laurence
03/12/82	M'Lellan	Patrick
18/03/83	Adamson	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 5

Smith *History of New York*

23/11/82	Flockhart	Alexander
03/01/83	Garthshore	James
03/03/83	Wood	Robert
10/10/83	MacGregor	Alexander
29/11/84	Adamson	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 5

Stanyan *History of Greece vol.1*

01/01/83	Isdale	Alexander
02/02/83	Smith	George
03/03/83	Wood	Robert
10/10/83	Garthshore	James
19/10/85	Armet	John

Number of times borrowed 5

Students matriculating in 1782

Addison		*Spectator vol.3*	
23/11/82	Flockhart	Alexander	
03/03/83	Ledward	Thomas Denman	
10/11/83	Stewart	James	
31/10/84	Isdale	Alexander	
		Number of times borrowed	4

Addison		*Spectator vol.7*	
11/11/82	Isdale	Alexander	
07/01/83	M'Lellan	Patrick	
10/11/83	Stewart	James	
31/10/84	Isdale	Alexander	
		Number of times borrowed	4

Brooke, Henry		*Fool of Quality vol.3*	
11/01/83	Mellis	John	
06/08/83	Grant	Charles	
28/10/83	Martin	John	
12/12/83	Oswald	James	
		Number of times borrowed	4

Brooke, Henry		*Fool of Quality vol.4*	
11/01/83	Mellis	John	
06/08/83	Grant	Charles	
04/11/83	Martin	John	
12/12/83	Oswald	James	
		Number of times borrowed	4

Guthrie		*History of Scotland vol.1*	
03/12/82	Grant	Walter	
15/03/83	Armet	John	
14/05/83	Falconer	Alexander	
11/11/83	Grant	Walter	
		Number of times borrowed	4

Guthrie		*History of Scotland vol.2*	
03/12/82	Grant	Walter	
15/03/83	Armet	John	
14/05/83	Falconer	Alexander	
11/11/83	Grant	Walter	
		Number of times borrowed	4

Hume		*History vol.4*	
09/09/82	Ledward	Thomas Denman	
24/12/83	Garthshore	James	
02/02/85	Pearce	John	
10/02/86	Falconer	Alexander	
		Number of times borrowed	4

Kames		*Elements of Criticism vol.3*	
02/02/83	Garthshore	James	
05/05/83	Isdale	Alexander	
05/11/83	Moyes	Laurence	
28/07/84	Adamson	Thomas	
		Number of times borrowed	4

Leland		*Philip of Macedon*	
03/12/82	Grant	Walter	
01/01/83	Mackenzie	Kenneth	
01/12/83	Grant	Walter	
31/10/85	Moyes	Laurence	
		Number of times borrowed	4

n.a.		*Letters from a Lady*	
29/12/82	Garthshore	James	
01/01/83	Garthshore	James	
21/01/84	Price	Meredith	
02/02/85	Downie	Malcolm	
		Number of times borrowed	4

Pope		*Homer's Iliad vol.4*	
25/01/82	M'kenzie	Alexander	
11/11/82	Oswald	James	
05/05/83	Garthshore	James	
06/11/84	Moyes	Laurence	
		Number of times borrowed	4

Robertson, William		*History of Charles V vol.4*	
01/01/83	Hunter	David	
12/12/83	Garthshore	James	
31/10/84	Isdale	Alexander	
12/11/84	Pearce	John	
		Number of times borrowed	4

Rollin		*Ancient History vol.2*	
02/10/82	Smith	George	
23/10/82	Grant	Walter	
11/11/82	Moyes	Laurence	
03/12/82	M'Lellan	Patrick	
		Number of times borrowed	4

Rollin		*Ancient History vol.6*	
11/11/82	Moyes	Laurence	
07/01/83	Smith	George	
27/11/83	M'Neill	John	
12/12/83	Oswald	James	
		Number of times borrowed	4

Rollin		*Belles Lettres vol.1*	
10/10/83	Pearce	John	
08/11/83	Flockhart	Alexander	
04/04/84	Grant	Walter	
01/01/85	Pearce	John	
		Number of times borrowed	4

Rollin		*Belles Lettres vol.2*	
10/10/83	Pearce	John	
08/11/83	Flockhart	Alexander	
29/11/83	M'Lellan	Patrick	
01/01/85	Pearce	John	
		Number of times borrowed	4

Students matriculating in 1782

Rollin — *Belles Lettres vol.3*

10/10/83	Pearce	John
08/11/83	Flockhart	Alexander
03/01/84	Downie	Malcolm
01/01/85	Pearce	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

Virgil — *Works (trans. Pitt et al.) vol.2*

30/12/82	Mellis	John
04/01/83	Price	Meredith
02/03/83	Oswald	James
03/03/83	Oswald	James
	Number of times borrowed	4

Wilkie — *Epigoniad*

03/03/83	Oswald	James
04/04/83	Garthshore	James
06/11/83	Falconer	Alexander
10/12/83	Martin	John
	Number of times borrowed	4

Addison — *Spectator vol.4*

03/03/83	Oswald	James
10/11/83	Stewart	James
31/10/84	Isdale	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Auteroche — *Journey to Siberia*

03/01/83	Garthshore	James
09/01/83	Martin	John
10/10/83	MacGregor	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Beattie — *Essay on Truth*

12/12/83	Garthshore	James
24/12/83	Garthshore	James
29/10/84	Flockhart	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Blair — *Sermons vol.1*

27/11/83	M'Neill	John
01/11/84	Isdale	Alexander
22/12/84	Isdale	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Butler — *Hudibras*

23/10/82	Grant	Walter
23/12/82	Price	Meredith
10/10/83	Garthshore	James
	Number of times borrowed	3

Caylus — *Oriental Tales vol.1*

10/06/83	Falconer	Alexander
27/10/83	M'kenzie	Alexander
04/11/84	Martin	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Caylus — *Oriental Tales vol.2*

10/06/83	Falconer	Alexander
27/10/83	M'kenzie	Alexander
04/11/84	Martin	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Chesterfield — *Letters vol.1*

28/10/83	Oswald	James
03/11/83	Mackenzie	Kenneth
11/11/83	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Collier — *Moral Essays*

11/11/84	M'Lellan	Patrick
12/12/84	Downie	Malcolm
04/04/86	Adamson	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	3

Dodsley — *Preceptor vol.1*

06/11/83	Falconer	Alexander
29/12/83	Stewart	James
31/10/85	Moyes	Laurence
	Number of times borrowed	3

Fielding — *Tom Jones vol.1*

03/05/83	Price	Meredith
11/11/83	Falconer	Alexander
03/03/85	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Fielding — *Tom Jones vol.2*

03/05/83	Price	Meredith
11/11/83	Falconer	Alexander
03/03/85	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Gibbon — *History of the Roman Empire vol.1*

12/12/83	Garthshore	James
24/12/83	Garthshore	James
12/12/85	Davidson	David
	Number of times borrowed	3

Glover — *Leonidas**

04/11/83	Martin	John
03/03/84	Price	Meredith
11/11/85	Adamson	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	3

Guthrie — *History of Scotland vol.3*

03/12/82	Grant	Walter
12/12/82	Stewart	James
14/05/83	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Guthrie — *History of Scotland vol.4*

03/12/82	Grant	Walter
12/12/82	Stewart	James
10/06/83	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Students matriculating in 1782

Guthrie — *History of Scotland vol.5*

03/12/82	Grant	Walter
10/06/83	Falconer	Alexander
12/12/83	Stewart	James
	Number of times borrowed	3

Harris, James — *Hermes, or Universal Grammar*

01/01/84	Falconer	Alexander
02/02/84	Downie	Malcolm
29/10/84	Flockhart	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Hawkesworth — *Voyages vol.2*

01/07/84	Adamson	Thomas
12/12/84	Grant	Walter
05/01/85	Armet	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Hooke — *Roman History vol. 1*

03/05/83	Mellis	John
29/12/83	Stewart	James
08/11/85	Armet	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Hooke — *Roman History vol.3*

10/10/82	M'Lellan	Patrick
11/06/83	Mellis	John
08/11/85	Armet	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Hooper — *Rational Recreations**

12/03/83	MacGregor	Alexander
12/12/83	Garthshore	James
27/12/83	Martin	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Hume — *History vol.3*

04/09/82	Ledward	Thomas Denman
09/09/83	Garthshore	James
02/02/85	Pearce	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Hume — *History vol.5*

09/09/82	Ledward	Thomas Denman
02/02/85	Pearce	John
10/02/86	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Johnson, Samuel — *Rasselas*

02/02/83	Garthshore	James
03/03/83	Garthshore	James
27/12/83	Martin	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Maclaurin — *Algebra*

01/01/83	Garthshore	James
10/10/83	Garthshore	James
12/12/83	Garthshore	James
	Number of times borrowed	3

Musschenbroek — *Elements of Natural Philosophy**

03/11/83	Mackenzie	Kenneth
05/05/84	Price	Meredith
01/01/85	Grant	Walter
	Number of times borrowed	3

n.a. — *Letters to Eleonora vol.1*

15/10/83	Price	Meredith
01/01/85	M'Lellan	Patrick
03/01/85	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

n.a. — *Letters to Eleonora vol.2*

15/10/83	Price	Meredith
01/01/85	M'Lellan	Patrick
03/01/85	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Ossian — *Temora*

07/03/83	Grant	Walter
03/11/84	Grant	Walter
12/12/84	M'Lellan	Patrick
	Number of times borrowed	3

Otway — *Works vol.1*

02/02/83	Hunter	David
02/02/85	Grant	Walter
01/01/86	Flockhart	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Otway — *Works vol.2*

02/02/83	Hunter	David
02/02/85	Grant	Walter
01/01/86	Flockhart	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Otway — *Works vol.3*

02/02/83	Hunter	David
02/02/85	Grant	Walter
01/01/86	Flockhart	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Raynal — *Histoire Philosophique**

01/01/83	Wood	Robert
04/11/84	Martin	John
04/04/86	Adamson	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	3

Robertson — *History of Ancient Greece*

18/01/83	Martin	John
03/05/83	Mellis	John
31/10/84	Isdale	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	3

Rollin — *Belles Lettres vol.4*

10/10/83	Pearce	John
04/04/84	Grant	Walter
01/01/85	Pearce	John
	Number of times borrowed	3

Students matriculating in 1782

Rollin — *Roman History vol.1*

11/11/82	Moyes	Laurence
12/12/82	Adamson	Thomas
03/12/84	Armet	John

Number of times borrowed 3

Rowe — *Works vol.1*

01/07/84	Adamson	Thomas
04/04/85	Falconer	Alexander
11/11/85	Falconer	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 3

Rowe — *Works vol.2*

01/07/84	Adamson	Thomas
04/04/85	Falconer	Alexander
11/11/85	Falconer	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 3

Shakespeare — *Works vol.3*

22/09/82	Ledward	Thomas Denman
03/03/83	Oswald	James
12/12/84	Price	Meredith

Number of times borrowed 3

Smollett — *History of England vol.16*

10/10/83	Garthshore	James
21/01/84	Price	Meredith
03/03/86	Adamson	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 3

Stanyan — *History of Greece vol.2*

02/02/83	Smith	George
03/03/83	Wood	Robert
19/10/85	Armet	John

Number of times borrowed 3

Vertot — *Knights of Malta**

29/12/82	Garthshore	James
25/04/83	Grant	Walter
03/03/84	Falconer	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 3

Wilson — *Navigation*

21/10/82	Guillan	Thomas
17/12/83	Davidson	David
19/12/85	Adamson	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 3

Wright — *Travels vol.1*

03/01/83	Garthshore	James
01/03/83	Davidson	David
01/01/86	Adamson	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 3

Addison — *Spectator vol.1*

02/02/83	Ledward	Thomas Denman
01/01/84	Armet	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Addison — *Works vol.1*

03/12/82	Falconer	Alexander
28/10/85	Falconer	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Argens — *Lettres Chinoises**

03/03/83	Davidson	David
01/11/85	Davidson	David

Number of times borrowed 2

Bancks — *Life of William III vol.3*

01/01/84	Grant	Walter
29/10/84	Flockhart	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Bancroft, Edward — *Natural History of Guiana*

16/12/82	Martin	John
28/04/84	Moyes	Laurence

Number of times borrowed 2

Blacklock — *Poems*

24/12/83	Garthshore	James
29/12/83	M'Lellan	Patrick

Number of times borrowed 2

Blackwell — *Life of Homer*

12/02/83	Davidson	David
21/11/83	M'Lellan	Patrick

Number of times borrowed 2

Blair — *Sermons vol.2*

12/12/84	Isdale	Alexander
22/12/84	Isdale	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Bolingbroke — *Letters on History vol.1*

03/01/84	Downie	Malcolm
16/11/84	Moyes	Laurence

Number of times borrowed 2

Brooke — *Fool of Quality vol.5*

11/01/83	Mellis	John
04/11/83	Martin	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Brooke, Frances — *Emily Montague vol.1*

07/12/82	Wood	Robert
02/02/85	Martin	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Brooke, Frances — *Emily Montague vol.2*

07/12/82	Wood	Robert
02/02/85	Martin	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Brooke, Frances — *Emily Montague vol.3*

07/12/82	Wood	Robert
02/02/85	Martin	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Students matriculating in 1782

Brooke, Frances — *Emily Montague vol.4*

07/12/82	Wood	Robert
02/02/85	Martin	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Brydon — *Tour through Sicily and Malta vol.1*

01/01/83	Downie	Malcolm
04/11/83	Martin	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Brydon — *Tour through Sicily and Malta vol.2*

01/01/83	Downie	Malcolm
04/11/83	Martin	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Callender — *Voyages vol.1*

03/03/83	Garthshore	James
01/01/85	Martin	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Campbell, John — *Lives of the Admirals**

02/12/82	Garthshore	James
04/04/86	Adamson	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 2

Cellarius — *Geographia Antiqua*

03/05/83	Price	Meredith
11/11/83	Price	Meredith

Number of times borrowed 2

Celsus — *De Medicina vol.1*

09/10/82	Ledward	Thomas Denman
01/01/83	Ledward	Thomas Denman

Number of times borrowed 2

Celsus — *De Medicina vol.2*

09/09/82	Ledward	Thomas Denman
01/01/83	Ledward	Thomas Denman

Number of times borrowed 2

Charlevoix — *Voyage to North America vol.1*

03/03/83	Garthshore	James
26/04/83	Martin	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Chesterfield — *Letters vol.2*

28/10/83	Oswald	James
03/11/83	Mackenzie	Kenneth

Number of times borrowed 2

Cicero — *De Oratore*

04/01/83	Price	Meredith
03/01/84	Downie	Malcolm

Number of times borrowed 2

Clark — *Essay on Study*

12/12/84	Isdale	Alexander
04/04/85	Armet	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Cockin — *Art of Delivering Written Language*

11/11/83	M'Lellan	Patrick
16/11/84	Moyes	Laurence

Number of times borrowed 2

Colman — *Connoisseur vol.1*

03/05/83	Price	Meredith
03/03/84	Falconer	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Dalrymple — *Memoirs of Great Britain*

28/07/84	Adamson	Thomas
12/12/84	Grant	Walter

Number of times borrowed 2

Dodsley — *Preceptor vol.2*

29/12/83	Stewart	James
31/10/85	Moyes	Laurence

Number of times borrowed 2

Farmer — *Essay on Shakespeare*

10/10/83	Garthshore	James
15/10/83	Price	Meredith

Number of times borrowed 2

Fénelon — *Telemachus (trans. Hawkesworth)*

20/08/83	Falconer	Alexander
21/01/84	Price	Meredith

Number of times borrowed 2

Fiddes — *Life of Cardinal Wolsey vol.1*

02/12/82	Garthshore	James
03/05/83	Price	Meredith

Number of times borrowed 2

Fiddes — *Life of Cardinal Wolsey vol.2*

02/12/82	Garthshore	James
03/05/83	Price	Meredith

Number of times borrowed 2

Fielding — *Tom Jones vol.3*

03/05/83	Price	Meredith
03/03/85	Falconer	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Fielding — *Tom Jones vol.5*

12/12/84	Martin	John
03/03/85	Falconer	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Students matriculating in 1782

Fordyce, David — *Dialogues concerning Education vol.1*

11/11/84	Grant	Walter
03/03/85	Armet	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Fordyce, David — *Dialogues concerning Education vol.2*

11/11/84	Grant	Walter
03/03/85	Armet	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Gast — *History of Greece*

04/04/83	Wood	Robert
27/11/83	M'Neill	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Gerard — *Essay on Genius*

29/11/83	Downie	Malcolm
04/04/86	Adamson	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 2

Girard — *Principes de la Langue Française*

17/12/83	Davidson	David
01/11/85	Davidson	David

Number of times borrowed 2

Goldsmith — *History of England vol.1*

10/10/82	Downie	Malcolm
05/05/83	Wood	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Goldsmith — *History of England vol.2*

10/10/82	Downie	Malcolm
05/05/83	Wood	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Goldsmith — *Natural History vol.1*

10/02/83	Martin	John
04/04/83	Wood	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Goldsmith — *Natural History vol.2*

10/02/83	Martin	John
04/04/83	Wood	Robert

Number of times borrowed 2

Gordon — *Accomptant**

11/11/85	Adamson	Thomas
04/04/86	Falconer	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Gordon — *History of Peter the Great vol.1*

18/01/83	Martin	John
01/10/83	Falconer	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Gordon — *History of Peter the Great vol.2*

18/01/83	Martin	John
01/10/83	Falconer	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Graves — *Shorthand*

29/12/82	Garthshore	James
01/01/83	Garthshore	James

Number of times borrowed 2

Graves, Richard — *Euphrosyne, or Amusements*

11/11/83	Price	Meredith
01/01/85	Downie	Malcolm

Number of times borrowed 2

Gray — *Poems*

29/12/82	Garthshore	James
01/01/83	Garthshore	James

Number of times borrowed 2

Green — *Principles of Philosophy*

03/11/83	Mackenzie	Kenneth
01/01/85	Grant	Walter

Number of times borrowed 2

Greene — *Critical Essays 1770*

29/11/83	M'Lellan	Patrick
03/01/84	Downie	Malcolm

Number of times borrowed 2

Guthrie — *History of Scotland vol.6*

27/02/83	Stewart	James
10/06/83	Falconer	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Hanway — *Virtue in Humble Life**

10/10/83	Armet	John
05/05/84	Price	Meredith

Number of times borrowed 2

Harwood — *Biographia Classica vol.1*

06/11/83	Falconer	Alexander
04/04/85	Falconer	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Hawkesworth — *Adventurer vol.1*

10/02/83	Martin	John
03/05/83	Mellis	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Hawkesworth — *Adventurer vol.2*

10/02/83	Martin	John
03/05/83	Mellis	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Herodotus — *History (trans.Littlebury)*

04/01/83	Price	Meredith
11/11/83	Price	Meredith

Number of times borrowed 2

Students matriculating in 1782

Homer — *Opera, Gr.Latin, vol.1*

04/01/83	Price	Meredith
11/11/83	Price	Meredith

Number of times borrowed 2

Hooke — *Roman History vol.4*

10/10/82	M'Lellan	Patrick
10/10/83	Armet	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Hume — *Essays vol.1*

29/10/84	Flockhart	Alexander
11/11/84	Downie	Malcolm

Number of times borrowed 2

Hume — *History vol.7*

01/01/83	Isdale	Alexander
12/03/83	Davidson	David

Number of times borrowed 2

Hume — *History vol.8*

12/03/83	Davidson	David
31/10/84	Isdale	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Hutcheson — *Moral Philosophy vol.1*

10/10/85	Armet	John
05/05/86	Armet	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Ives — *Voyage*

09/11/82	Wood	Robert
01/01/83	Isdale	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Johnson, Samuel — *Tour of the Hebrides*

25/01/82	M'kenzie	Alexander
11/11/83	Falconer	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Jonson — *Works vol.2*

09/01/83	Martin	John
03/05/83	Price	Meredith

Number of times borrowed 2

Jonson — *Works vol.3*

09/01/83	Martin	John
03/05/83	Price	Meredith

Number of times borrowed 2

Justamond — *Life of Louis XV*

24/12/83	Garthshore	James
05/05/84	Price	Meredith

Number of times borrowed 2

Knox, Vicesimus — *Liberal Education*

11/11/83	Price	Meredith
12/12/84	Downie	Malcolm

Number of times borrowed 2

Le Blanc — *Letters*

12/12/84	Price	Meredith
02/02/85	M'Lellan	Patrick

Number of times borrowed 2

Locke — *Essay on Human Understanding*

27/11/83	M'Neill	John
05/05/86	Armet	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Lucian — *Dialogues, Gr.Lat.*

04/01/83	Price	Meredith
27/12/83	Martin	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Lyttleton — *Dialogues of the Dead*

11/11/82	Downie	Malcolm
12/12/82	Oswald	James

Number of times borrowed 2

Macpherson, John — *Dissertations on the Ancient Caledonians*

05/05/84	Grant	Walter
02/02/85	M'Lellan	Patrick

Number of times borrowed 2

Mallet — *Northern Antiquities*

29/12/83	M'Lellan	Patrick
01/01/85	Martin	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Marmontel — *Tales vol.1*

11/11/83	Garthshore	James
12/12/83	Garthshore	James

Number of times borrowed 2

Marmontel — *Tales vol.2*

11/11/83	Garthshore	James
12/12/83	Garthshore	James

Number of times borrowed 2

Martin — *Philosophia Britannica*

03/11/83	Mackenzie	Kenneth
02/02/85	Grant	Walter

Number of times borrowed 2

Meanwell — *Voyage through Hell*

23/11/82	Flockhart	Alexander
02/02/85	Armet	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Middleton — *Life of Cicero vol.1*

20/02/84	Moyes	Laurence
01/11/85	Davidson	David

Number of times borrowed 2

Students matriculating in 1782

Molière — *Plays vol.1*

11/11/83	Falconer	Alexander
31/10/85	Moyes	Laurence
	Number of times borrowed	2

Molière — *Plays vol.2*

11/11/83	Falconer	Alexander
01/01/84	Davidson	David
	Number of times borrowed	2

Monboddo — *Origin of Language**

02/02/84	Armet	John
31/10/85	Moyes	Laurence
	Number of times borrowed	2

Morgan — *History of Algiers vol.1*

10/02/83	Martin	John
03/03/86	Moyes	Laurence
	Number of times borrowed	2

Murray — *American War vol.1*

03/12/82	Grant	Walter
04/04/86	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Murray — *American War vol.2*

03/12/82	Grant	Walter
04/04/86	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

n.a. — *Arabian Nights vol.2*

25/01/82	M'kenzie	Alexander
09/09/83	Garthshore	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

n.a. — *Lady's Drawing Room*

02/02/83	Garthshore	James
04/04/83	Wood	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	2

n.a. — *New Discoveries of the World*

09/11/82	Wood	Robert
28/04/84	Moyes	Laurence
	Number of times borrowed	2

n.a. — *Orain Ghaidheailliach*

11/11/82	Downie	Malcolm
29/12/83	Stewart	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

n.a. — *Pamphlets vol.1*

15/10/83	Price	Meredith
11/11/84	Downie	Malcolm
	Number of times borrowed	2

n.a. — *Pamphlets, unspecified*

02/02/84	Price	Meredith
12/12/84	Price	Meredith
	Number of times borrowed	2

n.a. — *Plays vol.2*

01/01/82	Ledward	Thomas Denman
02/02/83	Ledward	Thomas Denman
	Number of times borrowed	2

n.a. — *Rudiments of War*

21/12/82	Garthshore	James
01/01/83	Garthshore	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Nugent — *Grand Tour vol.1*

02/02/84	Grant	Walter
19/12/85	Adamson	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Nugent — *Grand Tour vol.2*

02/02/84	Grant	Walter
19/12/85	Adamson	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Oldmixon — *Logic*

03/03/84	Isdale	Alexander
27/12/84	Adamson	Thomas
	Number of times borrowed	2

Parnell — *Poems*

09/09/83	Garthshore	James
02/02/84	Downie	Malcolm
	Number of times borrowed	2

Payne — *Trigonometry*

12/12/84	Martin	John
05/07/86	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Perrin — *Entertaining Exercises*

12/12/84	M'Lellan	Patrick
01/11/85	Davidson	David
	Number of times borrowed	2

Pope — *Essay on Man*

24/12/83	Garthshore	James
03/03/84	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Quincy — *Dispensatory*

20/11/83	Guillan	Thomas
12/12/83	Price	Meredith
	Number of times borrowed	2

Richardson — *Charles Grandison vol.1*

10/10/82	Downie	Malcolm
08/11/82	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Richardson — *Charles Grandison vol.2*

10/10/82	Downie	Malcolm
08/11/82	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Students matriculating in 1782

Richardson *Charles Grandison vol.3*

10/10/82	Downie	Malcolm
08/11/82	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Richardson *Charles Grandison vol.4*

10/10/82	Downie	Malcolm
08/11/82	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Richardson *Charles Grandison vol.5*

10/10/82	Downie	Malcolm
08/11/82	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Robertson, John *Navigation*

01/01/85	Martin	John
26/10/85	Martin	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Robertson, William *History of America vol.1*

24/12/83	Garthshore	James
03/03/86	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin *Ancient History vol.5*

13/03/83	Davidson	David
27/11/83	M'Neill	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin *Ancient History vol.7*

11/11/82	Moyes	Laurence
07/01/83	Smith	George
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin *Ancient History vol.8*

21/01/83	Smith	George
12/12/83	Oswald	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin *Roman History vol.10*

07/11/82	Davidson	David
07/02/84	Isdale	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin *Roman History vol.3*

30/10/82	Mackenzie	Kenneth
07/02/84	Isdale	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin *Roman History vol.6*

01/11/82	Davidson	David
07/02/84	Isdale	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Rollin *Roman History vol.8*

07/11/82	Davidson	David
07/02/84	Isdale	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Russel *Essay on Women vol.1*

15/10/83	Price	Meredith
16/02/86	Armet	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Russel *Essay on Women vol.2*

15/10/83	Price	Meredith
16/02/86	Armet	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Saunderson *Algebra vol.1*

10/10/83	Garthshore	James
12/12/83	Garthshore	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Sévigné *Letters vol.1*

05/05/83	Wood	Robert
08/11/83	MacGregor	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Sévigné *Letters vol.2*

05/05/83	Wood	Robert
08/11/83	MacGregor	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Shakespeare *Works vol.1*

22/09/82	Ledward	Thomas Denman
03/03/83	Oswald	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Shakespeare *Works vol.4*

22/09/82	Ledward	Thomas Denman
03/03/83	Oswald	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Shakespeare *Works vol.5*

22/09/82	Ledward	Thomas Denman
12/12/84	Price	Meredith
	Number of times borrowed	2

Shakespeare *Works vol.6*

22/09/82	Ledward	Thomas Denman
12/12/84	Price	Meredith
	Number of times borrowed	2

Shakespeare *Works vol.7*

22/09/82	Ledward	Thomas Denman
03/03/83	Oswald	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Shakespeare *Works vol.8*

03/03/83	Oswald	James
12/12/84	Price	Meredith
	Number of times borrowed	2

Shenstone *Works vol.2*

09/09/83	Garthshore	James
02/02/85	M'Lellan	Patrick
	Number of times borrowed	2

Students matriculating in 1782

Simpson — *Algebra*

29/10/83	Flockhart	Alexander
12/12/84	Martin	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Simson, Robert — *Conick Sections*

24/12/83	Garthshore	James
12/12/84	Martin	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Simson, Robert — *Euclid*

04/11/83	Martin	John
04/11/84	Martin	John

Number of times borrowed 2

Smith, John — *Gaelic Antiquities*

15/03/83	M'Lellan	Patrick
11/11/84	Downie	Malcolm

Number of times borrowed 2

Smollett — *History of England vol.10*

12/12/83	Price	Meredith
03/03/86	Adamson	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 2

Smollett — *History of England vol.11*

12/12/83	Price	Meredith
03/03/86	Adamson	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 2

Smollett — *History of England vol.12*

12/12/83	Price	Meredith
03/03/86	Adamson	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 2

Smollett — *History of England vol.13*

01/01/84	Price	Meredith
03/03/86	Adamson	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 2

Smollett — *History of England vol.14*

01/01/84	Price	Meredith
03/03/86	Adamson	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 2

Smollett — *History of England vol.15*

01/01/84	Price	Meredith
03/03/86	Adamson	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 2

Smollett — *History of England vol.6*

12/12/83	Price	Meredith
02/02/86	Adamson	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 2

Smollett — *History of England vol.9*

12/12/83	Price	Meredith
02/02/86	Adamson	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 2

Smollett — *Humphrey Clinker vol.3*

06/08/83	Grant	Charles
02/11/83	Grant	Charles

Number of times borrowed 2

Spearman — *Enquiry after Philosophy*

01/01/85	M'Lellan	Patrick
04/04/86	Adamson	Thomas

Number of times borrowed 2

Stanyan — *Account of Switzerland*

15/11/82	MacGregor	Alexander
03/01/83	Garthshore	James

Number of times borrowed 2

Sully — *Memoirs vol.1*

11/11/83	Oswald	James
01/01/84	Price	Meredith

Number of times borrowed 2

Sully — *Memoirs vol.2*

11/11/83	Oswald	James
01/01/84	Price	Meredith

Number of times borrowed 2

Swift — *Works vol.1*

28/10/85	Falconer	Alexander
11/11/85	Falconer	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Swift — *Works vol.2*

28/10/85	Falconer	Alexander
11/11/85	Falconer	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Tasso — *Jerusalem (trans. Fairfax)*

02/02/84	Downie	Malcolm
03/03/84	Grant	Walter

Number of times borrowed 2

Terracon — *Dissertation on Homer's Iliad vol.1*

03/11/84	Grant	Walter
12/12/84	M'Lellan	Patrick

Number of times borrowed 2

Thicknesse — *Manners of the French*

08/11/83	MacGregor	Alexander
12/12/85	Moyes	Laurence

Number of times borrowed 2

Thomson — *Seasons*

28/12/82	Garthshore	James
01/01/83	Garthshore	James

Number of times borrowed 2

Town(?) — *Connoisseur vol.3*

03/05/83	Price	Meredith
03/03/84	Falconer	Alexander

Number of times borrowed 2

Students matriculating in 1782

Town(?) — *Connoisseur vol.4*

03/05/83	Price	Meredith
03/03/84	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Virgil — *Works (trans. Pitt et al.) vol.1*

30/12/82	Mellis	John
03/03/83	Oswald	James
	Number of times borrowed	2

Voltaire — *Memoirs*

01/01/83	Garthshore	James
03/05/83	Price	Meredith
	Number of times borrowed	2

Ward — *Oratory vol.1*

05/05/83	Garthshore	James
10/10/83	Isdale	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Ward — *Oratory vol.2*

05/05/83	Garthshore	James
10/10/83	Isdale	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	2

Winslow — *Anatomy*

22/09/82	Ledward	Thomas Denman
01/01/83	Ledward	Thomas Denman
	Number of times borrowed	2

Wright — *Travels vol.2*

03/01/83	Garthshore	James
02/02/83	Smith	George
	Number of times borrowed	2

Xenophon — *Anabasis, Gr. Lat.*

10/10/83	Armet	John
05/01/85	Armet	John
	Number of times borrowed	2

Young, Edward — *Night Thoughts*

12/03/83	Ledward	Thomas Denman
13/03/83	Davidson	David
	Number of times borrowed	2

"A Nobleman" — *Roman History**

01/01/83	Wood	Robert
	Number of times borrowed	1

Adams — *Grammar vol.1*

02/02/83	Ledward	Thomas Denman
	Number of times borrowed	1

Addison — *Spectator vol.5*

11/11/82	Isdale	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	1

Addison — *Spectator vol.6*

11/11/82	Isdale	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	1

Addison — *Works vol.2*

28/10/85	Falconer	Alexander
	Number of times borrowed	1

Addison — *Works vol.4*

12/03/83	Ledward	Thomas Denman
	Number of times borrowed	1

Adlerfeld — *History of Charles XII of Sweden**

02/02/85	Grant	Walter
	Number of times borrowed	1

Alexander — *Experimental Essays*

29/11/83	M'Lellan	Patrick
	Number of times borrowed	1

Annet — *Shorthand*

01/01/84	Davidson	David
	Number of times borrowed	1

Aristotle — *Art of Poetry, Eng. (trans. from Dacier)*

27/11/83	M'Neill	John
	Number of times borrowed	1

Ashe — *On Education*

21/11/83	M'Lellan	Patrick
	Number of times borrowed	1

Atkins — *Miscellany*

04/04/83	Garthshore	James
	Number of times borrowed	1

Atkins — *Natural History and Poetry*

12/12/84	Downie	Malcolm
	Number of times borrowed	1

Atterbury — *Letters*

05/05/84	Price	Meredith
	Number of times borrowed	1

Auteroche — *Voyage to California*

10/10/83	Hunter	David
	Number of times borrowed	1

Bancks — *Life of William III vol.1*

01/01/84	Grant	Walter
	Number of times borrowed	1

Bancks — *Life of William III vol.2*

01/01/84	Grant	Walter
	Number of times borrowed	1

Bancroft — *History of Charles Wentworth vol.1*

03/01/83	Garthshore	James
	Number of times borrowed	1

Students matriculating in 1782

Bancroft *History of Charles Wentworth vol.2*
03/01/83 Garthshore James
Number of times borrowed 1

Barre *Histoire d'Allemagne**
02/02/84 Davidson David
Number of times borrowed 1

Batteux *Principes de la Littérature vol.1*
04/04/83 Garthshore James
Number of times borrowed 1

Batteux *Principes de la Littérature vol.1*
04/04/83 Garthshore James
Number of times borrowed 1

Batteux *Principes de la Littérature vol.1*
04/04/83 Garthshore James
Number of times borrowed 1

Batteux *Principes de la Littérature vol.1*
04/04/83 Garthshore James
Number of times borrowed 1

Baudier *Margaret of Anjou*
03/05/83 Price Meredith
Number of times borrowed 1

Beattie *Essays on Poetry, Music, etc.*
01/01/85 M'Lellan Patrick
Number of times borrowed 1

Beccaria *Crimes and Punishments*
11/11/84 Grant Walter
Number of times borrowed 1

Belfour *History of Scotland*
03/11/84 Falconer Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Bell *British Theatre vol.8*
28/07/84 Adamson Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Bell *British Theatre vol.9*
28/07/84 Adamson Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Bell *Lord's Supper*
05/05/86 Armet John
Number of times borrowed 1

Benson *Battle of Flodden*
03/03/83 Garthshore James
Number of times borrowed 1

Birch *Life of Henry, Prince of Wales*
02/02/83 Wood Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Blackstone *Commentary*
02/02/85 Martin John
Number of times borrowed 1

Blackwall *Sacred Classics*
06/11/83 Falconer Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Blackwell *Mythology*
03/01/83 Garthshore James
Number of times borrowed 1

Blair *Sermons vol.3*
12/12/84 Isdale Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Blair *Sermons vol.4*
12/12/84 Isdale Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Bolingbroke *Memoirs*
01/01/85 Downie Malcolm
Number of times borrowed 1

Bolingbroke *Works vol.4*
24/12/83 Garthshore James
Number of times borrowed 1

Bongout *Journey to Bath*
02/02/83 Ledward Thomas Denman
Number of times borrowed 1

Bonnycast *Mensuration*
10/02/86 Falconer Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Boswell *Corsica*
27/12/83 Martin John
Number of times borrowed 1

Bridone *Tour*
05/05/83 Garthshore James
Number of times borrowed 1

Broom *Travels*
12/12/85 Moyes Laurence
Number of times borrowed 1

Buchanan *History of Scotland*
28/07/84 Adamson Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Bundy *Roman History**
11/11/84 Price Meredith
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1782

Burke *Annual Register vol.1*
03/01/85 Falconer Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Burke *Annual Register vol.19*
03/03/84 Isdale Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Burke *Annual Register vol.2*
03/01/85 Falconer Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Burke *Annual Register vol.21*
11/11/83 Grant Walter
Number of times borrowed 1

Burke *Annual Register vol.23*
04/04/83 Wood Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Burn *English Grammar*
02/02/83 Garthshore James
Number of times borrowed 1

Byrom *Poems vol.1*
07/01/83 M'Lellan Patrick
Number of times borrowed 1

Byrom *Poems vol.2*
07/01/83 M'Lellan Patrick
Number of times borrowed 1

Campbell, A. *Lexiphanes, a Dialogue*
21/01/84 Price Meredith
Number of times borrowed 1

Campbell, A. *Moral Virtue*
29/11/83 M'Lellan Patrick
Number of times borrowed 1

Campbell, George *Rhetoric vol.1*
08/11/83 Flockhart Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Campbell, George *Rhetoric vol.2*
08/11/83 Flockhart Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Campbell, John *Liberty and Right*
09/09/84 Price Meredith
Number of times borrowed 1

Campbell, John *Political Survey of Britain*
06/11/83 M'kenzie Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Carver *Travels*
05/05/83 Wood Robert
Number of times borrowed 1

Chapone *Miscellanies*
02/02/84 Price Meredith
Number of times borrowed 1

Charlevoix *Voyage to North America vol.2*
26/04/83 Martin John
Number of times borrowed 1

Churchill *Conduct of Duchess of Marlborough*
09/09/84 Price Meredith
Number of times borrowed 1

Cicero *Cato, or Old Age (trans. Melmoth)*
10/10/83 Garthshore James
Number of times borrowed 1

Cicero *De Officiis*
06/06/86 Adamson Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Cicero *Opera vol.7*
12/03/83 Ledward Thomas Denman
Number of times borrowed 1

Cicero *Orations (trans. Guthrie) vol.1*
03/11/84 Grant Walter
Number of times borrowed 1

Cicero *Orations (trans. Guthrie) vol.2*
03/11/84 Grant Walter
Number of times borrowed 1

Clare *Motion of Fluids*
03/03/84 Grimston Henry
Number of times borrowed 1

Clarke *Narrative of her Life*
01/01/84 Falconer Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Cocking *American War, a Poem*
03/03/84 Price Meredith
Number of times borrowed 1

Cole *Hydrostatics*
05/12/85 Martin John
Number of times borrowed 1

Collier *Art of Tormenting*
12/12/84 Grant Walter
Number of times borrowed 1

Colman *Connoisseur vol.2*
03/05/83 Price Meredith
Number of times borrowed 1

Students matriculating in 1782

Congreve *Works vol.1*
11/11/84 Price Meredith
Number of times borrowed 1

Crown *History of Aeneas and Dido*
01/01/83 Garthshore James
Number of times borrowed 1

Cudworth *Morality*
04/04/86 Adamson Thomas
Number of times borrowed 1

Cunningham *Poems*
12/12/83 Garthshore James
Number of times borrowed 1

Dalrymple *Annals of Scotland vol.1*
01/12/83 Grant Walter
Number of times borrowed 1

Dalrymple *Annals of Scotland vol.2*
01/12/83 Grant Walter
Number of times borrowed 1

Davenant *Works*
09/09/84 Price Meredith
Number of times borrowed 1

Defoe *Life and Conduct of Marlborough*
02/12/82 Garthshore James
Number of times borrowed 1

Defoe *Tour through Britain*
02/02/85 Martin John
Number of times borrowed 1

Demosthenes *Opera*
12/12/83 Oswald James
Number of times borrowed 1

Desaguiliers *Experimental Philosophy vol.1*
01/01/85 Grant Walter
Number of times borrowed 1

Desommeaux *Histoire de l'Espagne vol.1*
04/11/82 MacGregor Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Desommeaux *Histoire de l'Espagne vol.2*
04/11/82 MacGregor Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Desommeaux *Histoire de l'Espagne vol.3*
04/11/82 MacGregor Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Dodsley *Poems by Several Hands vol.1*
08/11/83 MacGregor Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

Dodsley *Poems by Several Hands vol.2*
08/11/83 MacGregor Alexander
Number of times borrowed 1

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